

THE · STORY ·
OF ·
AFRICA
AND · ITS ·
EXPLORERS



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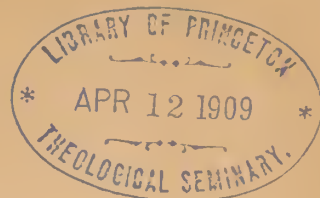
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MATOTELA OFFERING TRIBUTE TO
THE BAROTSE KING



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THE
STORY OF AFRICA
AND ITS EXPLORERS

BY

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VOL. IV.

EUROPE IN AFRICA—COLONIES AND COLONISTS—THE SCRAMBLE FOR AN
EMPIRE—A CONTINENT UNDER COMPANIES—THE
CONTEST FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Special Edition

WITH REMBRANDT PHOTOGRAVURE PLATES, FULL-PAGE ENGRAVINGS,
AND NUMEROUS OTHER ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS

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ARAB "DHOWS" AT LAMU, SIMILAR TO THOSE USED IN THE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

THE STORY OF AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE COLONISATION OF AFRICA: A MEDIEVAL EXODUS: PORTUGAL

Africa a Continent of Colonists—The Native Tribes so-called nearly all Immigrants—The Romans—The Arabs new Colonists in the North, but very old Arrivals on the East Side—The Portuguese the Earliest of Modern Colonists—Gilianez—Nuno Tristão—Antão Gonsalves—Tristão's Discovery of Arguin and the Rio Grande—Ca da Mosto Reaches the Gambia—Pedro de Cintra Sails beyond Sierra Leone—João de Santarem and Pedro Escobar go past Cape Palmas and discover São Thome and the Mines of the Gold Coast—The Ogowé Mouth Reached and Diego Cam Sights the Congo—Bartholomew Diaz Doubles the Cape of Good Hope—The Arab Settlements—Vasco da Gama—Seizure of the Arab Towns—The Portuguese Way of Colonising Exemplified by the History of Mombasa—Prosperity and Decay—Piracy—Slave-Trading—Convicts and Colonists—"Prazos da Coroa"—Indian Monopolists—Officialdom—Competence and Incompetence—Convict Knights—Detached Colonies—Delagoa Bay and its many Masters.

AFRICA, as the quarter of the world nearest to it, naturally received the first overflow of the nationalities of Europe. There can be little question but that from primeval times the Black Continent has gained in population from other parts of the world. It is doubtful, indeed, if there are any "aborigines" even in the very

loose way that term is employed, unless we assume these "natives" to be the dwarfs whom we have met with in former volumes. The Fulahs are most likely of Asiatic origin, and the great Kaffir nation—probably the whole Bantu stock—have, there is a strong suspicion, come from a different land from that which they now occupy. The same may be said of the people

of north-eastern Africa, and even of the negroes; while the Berber race, which forms the ethnic substratum of all northern Africa—the eastern horn, perhaps, excepted—are believed to have been prehistoric migrants from Europe, those much-discussed Iberians who are supposed to have preceded the Celts in the British Islands, France, and Spain. As for the Arabs who are now spread over so large an area of Africa, though it would be rash to affirm that none of them are of a very ancient advent, the circumstances that led to the arrival of the principal hordes are quite historical. The “Ethiopians” of Abyssinia, as shown by the numerous inscriptions and buildings found in the early strongholds of the race, came, there can be no doubt, from Arabia Felix; and to that mother-land of so much quasi-civilisation we must also trace the written script of the Abyssinians.* Arabs, we shall see, were also among the earliest colonists of East Africa, many having arrived in prehistoric times. But those with whom we are best acquainted were the conquerors of what we now know as the Barbary States, lying on the European side of the Atlas and the Saharan Desert. This part of Africa has always been more in the continent than of it. Its flora and fauna are essentially European, and its geology shows that it was formerly continuous with the opposite coast of Spain, and, by land-bridges across the Mediterranean, with Italy and Malta also.

It was in this region that some of the earliest-known colonies were founded by the Tyreans, Greeks, and Romans. For Old colonists of Africa. Carthage was in Tunis, and all over “Africa” were scattered towns and villages, villas and farms, of people who did not, like so many of the modern sojourners in this region, come to make money and then go “home” to spend it. Africa was the home of those early colonists whose settlements extended from near the southern boundaries of Morocco to the Nile and farther in the

interior than any European now cares to, or can, live (Vol. III., pp. 82, 105). Until the British became colonists of the southern extremity of Africa, these “Roumi”—of whom the legends still linger among the ruder races whose squalid towns have been built out of the ruins of theirs, or whose clay “dshar” or tented “douar” is pitched beside their broken arches (Vol. III., pp. 77, 84, 108, etc.)—were the truest and best of colonists. Thus, the Italians, who were the latest of peoples to form modern settlements in Africa, were the first to found them. But with the inrush of the Arabs (Vol. III., p. 110) that experiment came to an end; and for eight or nine hundred years Europe was too busy at home, or too apathetic, or its rulers were too jealous of losing any tax-payers or men-at-arms, to think of “plantations beyond the seas.” Efforts, more or less successful, to establish a foothold on the Barbary coast were the utmost that was attempted in that direction, though they were amply reciprocated by the African’s long centuries of conquest and sojourn on the opposite shore. Spain and Portugal were, however, never even then colonists in Morocco, or Algeria, or Tunis. They merely occupied a port for trade, and a castle to protect it. The Turks, who made conquests on a more extensive scale, were scarcely more at home. For Algiers, Tripoli, and the other towns which they held (nominally or actually) under the Grand Seigneur were either mere trading-posts or piratical settlements, of which the governing class were Ottomans or renegades posturing under Turkish names. But outside these walls the natives still held their own and, in most cases, took particularly good care that the invaders should hold nothing beyond the range of their guns or their cross-bows.

It was only when Europe was seized with that strange uneasiness which culminated in the discovery of America that the settlement of Africa began; though, as the first places selected were within or close to the tropics—where European women could not live in health or European children be reared—

* Bent: “The Sacred City of the Ethiopians” (1893), pp. 14, 15, 167, 175, etc.

the colonies were simply armed posts for dealing in slaves or other commodities furnished by the natives. Little, if anything, was grown by the colonists, and that little by their slaves. It is much the same still, minus the slave-trafficking and slave-holding—in name, at least.

A variety of motives was at work in stimulating the pioneers in this hiving-off of the European nations. Love of adventure and of gain, and of heathen with souls to be saved, had all a greater or less share in the fitting-out of those notable voyages of discovery and colonisation in which soldier and priest played almost equal parts.

Portugal has the credit of taking the first steps in this great work; and though Lusitania has not—in modern times, at least—occupied a very notable place among the colonisers of Africa, she established on its west and east coasts what were for long the most successful of these adventures. The lethargy that for so many ages had reduced Europe to a condition of intellectual torpidity was disappearing. This renaissance took the form, so far as bold spirits were concerned, of maritime enterprise, though it would, perhaps, be an exaggeration to imagine that the men before the mast were fired with anything like the enthusiasm of those on the quarter-deck. Columbus had, indeed, to man the ships that sailed on his second expedition with convicts; and, from the mutinies and other misdemeanours of the crews who had the glory of discovering half the world during the epoch then begun, we have no ground for believing that they were inspired by any very lofty sentiments. Even the commanders were long awed by vague legends, inherited from Aristotle and the schoolmen, that beyond the tropic of Cancer no man could live, the soil (burnt up by the scorching sun) being unfit for the growth of plant or animal. Hence the early mariners—leaving out of account the half-mythical voyage of Hanno the Carthaginian, who sailed on his colonising expedition as far south as Sierra

Leone*—crept cautiously along the African coast, a little way at a time, taking courage by the impunity their impious attempts obtained, to go a few leagues farther next time, until at length they reached the termination of the continent, and—as did Albuquerque very early in the sixteenth century—crawling up the east coast, saw Cape Guardafui on the north-eastern horn of the continent. Such were the fears and hopes moving Gilianez (Gil Eannes, in less phonetic Portuguese), the Portuguese mariner who, in 1433, got as far as Cape Bojador, then regarded as the world's end in that direction; and Nuno Tristão, who, less than eight years afterwards, doubled Cape Blanco and did not shorten sail until he was three degrees within the tropic, proving that Aristotle and the ancients were by no means infallible.

And that was a great point gained; for the authority of the classics—there being no others to run in rivalry with them—was amongst the most grievous obstacles that blocked the progress of knowledge for the next three centuries. Then Tristão discovered Arguin, and the Portuguese, who had settled at Lagos, despatched six caravels up the Senegal (Vol. I, p. 135). The black slaves and the gold-dust which Antão Gonsalves brought back from the Rio de Ouro as the ransom of the twelve "Moors" (Berbers, more likely) whom Tristão had kidnapped the year before, stimulated adventure. In 1447 Tristão discovered the Rio Grande. By 1454 Cape Verd was reached by Diniz Dias, and two years later Ca da Mosto heard at the Gambia circumstantial tales of Timbuctoo and the Upper Niger countries, which hitherto had only been spoken of by Edrisi, the Arab

* The late Colonel Ellis, on what authority is not mentioned, considered the cisterns on the island of Arguin (which he identified with Hanno's Cerne) the work of early Carthaginian colonists. The remains of old gold-workings in the Wassaw district are also suggested as material proofs of their enterprise, while the "aggr" beads of the Gold Coast—the origin of which has puzzled antiquaries—are likewise assigned to the Phœnicians, who, when the Romans cannot be invoked, are regarded as a safe card for the African archaeologist to play.—*History of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (1893), pp. 4, 9.

geographer, and the Morocco Moors, whose caravans went in those days across the desert just as they do at this hour. By 1462 Pedro de Cintra got three degrees below Sierra Leone; and before Prince Henry the

São Thome Island (St. Thomas), returning with gold from Elmina, Shama, and Approbi. By 1471 the delta of the Ogowé was reached, and thirteen years later Diego Cam sighted the Congo, erected a pillar to com-

memorate his discovery, and sailed up the river a little way. The year after Cam's return, Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and showed Portugal the road to the Indian Ocean, through which her semi-piratical sailors rushed, as Sir George Birdwood has described them, like a pack of hungry wolves upon a well-stocked sheep-walk.

At Algoa Bay, Diaz halted. By this time the Portuguese had approached within so close a distance of Sofala, Melinde, Mombasa, and the other settlements farther up the coast, which the Arabs from Egypt and Arabia had begun to form as early as the year 740, and, it is possible, still earlier, if the Mashonaland ruins are the remains of pre-Mohammedan Arab



MARRIAGE DRESSES OF LAMU AND MUSICIANS WITH SIWAS.*

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

Navigator died the expeditions sent out mainly through his enlightened exertions had scanned 1,800 miles of the western coast of Africa. In 1470 João de Santarem and Pedro Escobar had sailed past Cape Palmas, as far south as

gold-diggings. Accordingly, when, in 1497—five years after the discovery of the West Indies by Columbus—Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape, he was not going blindly when he touched at Natal and by-and-by

* The Siwa is a horn beautifully worked in ivory, or copper, or wood. Those represented in the picture were imported from Persia about the year 1200. It was an instrument of this class that Vasco da Gama took to Portugal as a sign of the vassalage of the chief of Melinde, where he obtained the pilot who guided him to the Malabar coast.

visited Sofala, Mozambique, Melinde (p. 6), Mombasa, and other Arab towns, all of which had existed for hundreds of years and were exceedingly prosperous through the trade they carried on with the natives, by the gold they mined, and by the sea-borne commerce with India, and even China, which had flourished from the remotest ages among

the Arabs. Thus Pedro de Anhaya seized Sofala in 1505, and Tristan da Cunha Lamu in 1507. The fort of Mozambique was built in the same year, and in 1508 Quiloa (which had already succumbed) was occupied. In course of time Melinde, Mombasa, Zanzibar, Magdoshu (Magadoxo), Sena, and other places, shared the same fate, little mercy being



SEYYID BIN HAMED, GOVERNOR OF MELINDE, AND SUITE.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

the "Moors" in whose wake and by whose guidance Da Gama steered for Hindostan.

By 1512 the entire African coast had been examined by the enterprising mariners of those days, and settlements established both on the east and west coasts, either by selecting spots in the possession of no more important people than the "mere natives" (who might think themselves well off if they were not taken for slaves), or by the less simple process of capturing those held by

shown the Arabs by ruthless soldiers with keen memories of the Moorish occupation of Portugal and, in many cases, fresh from the last battles with the Paynim in Spain and Morocco. Fire and sword ravaged many a defenceless town. Neither women nor children were spared. None of the rulers of these places were able to make a very effective resistance. Their fortifications were, at best, poor defences against the artillery brought against them, and their

fanaticism was ineffective when opposed to the mail-clad men disciplined in the endless wars of Europe.

The Portuguese dealings with Mombasa (Vol. III., p 65)—now, under the British flag, destined to recover something of its former prosperity—were characteristic of the way these truculent warriors began the wonderful story of European settlement in Africa. The heroes who resisted the infidel—'Ahmed-bin-Mohammed, 'Abdu'llah-bin-Ahmed, and a score of others—still live in the songs of its Arab inhabitants, who, as early as 1331, when the amusing Tangier traveller, Ibn Batuta, visited them, were accounted by that indifferent judge of such virtues "a chaste and religious people"; and two centuries later Camoens writes, "The isle and city were Mombasa named, ruled by a king for years full many famed," as Burton Englishes his verses * (pp. 9, 12, 13).

Yet, from the day Vasco da Gama captured the town and the island on which it is built, the history of Mombasa is simply one long tale of cruelties perpetrated by the invaders and massacres and reprisals on the part of the inhabitants. It is, however, only fair to say that in this amiable manner Europe had a habit of behaving to "all peoples not Christian"—a proviso which Portugal interpreted to mean those not of the ancient faith. As Burton characterises the morals of the early colonising Powers with his customary incisiveness, "The Portuguese were slavers and robbers in the Lord's name; the Dutch were second-rate traders; and the English rank salt-water thieves." It was hard to say at whose hands the Africans fared worst.

In 1505 Francisco Almeida, the first Viceroy of Portuguese India, burnt Mombasa, and three years afterwards the native Sultan was installed as a vassal of Dom Manuel. Again, in 1529, after a ceaseless series of bickerings, Mombasa was reduced to ashes, and in 1586 overtures to place the town under the suzerainty of the Turks ended in its being committed to the flames for the third time. A strong fortress (p. 9) enabled the Portuguese to keep a better grip upon the turbulent citizens; but early in the seventeenth century Yusef-bin-Ahmed managed to seize the stronghold by stratagem, massacre the garrison, and hold the place three months, until, a Portuguese fleet appearing before it, the Arab ruler fired the often-burnt town and fled to Arabia. In 1660 one of the Imams of Oman besieged Mombasa and, after a struggle of five years, captured it. His son succeeded in finally driving the Portuguese from the locality, and from that time until it passed into British hands the history of Mombasa is mainly a series of squabbles with the Sultans of Zanzibar, whose rule, let us hope, the

Mombasees may not regret, after their customary fashion.

And as Mombasa was, so were the other towns seized from the Arabs and then, after a longer or shorter period under Portuguese rule, recovered by their old masters, to pass in due time, more or less peaceably, under a better government. To this day the legends of Portuguese cruelty are vivid among the natives—tales of their creed treated with contumely, their holy places defiled, and the arms of women hacked off to enable the inhuman robbers to obtain more easily the bangles with which they were ornamented. Tales of dignitaries tortured by having



PILLAR ERECTED AT MELINDE BY
VASCO DA GAMA UPON HIS
RETURN FROM INDIA IN 1499.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

* "Regida por um Rei de antiga idade
Mombaça éo nome da Ilha e da cidade."

boiling lead poured on them until they revealed (or invented) plots, produced treasure, or betrayed those who had any to produce, are the stock traditions which, handed from father to son, have made "Christian" a name of horror in many a quiet village along the Mohammedan strip of the African shore. This contempt is still maintained, even though they know better of the later unbelievers and the Arabs have descended to be mere agents of the European and Indian merchants. Deceit, chicanery, and an utter lack of veracity are now the weapons with which they fight superior business capacity, and, so far as the Banians are concerned, it is knavery pitted against knavery.*

The Portuguese had also, and have still, some fighting to do with the natives (p. 11), though that was not much of an obstacle to a people who never spread far from the fortified towns near the coast. For, in spite of the claim set up of late years, the explorations made by them during four centuries of occupation were not of any great extent. With few exceptions, their ideas of the interior were, to a large extent, mere hearsay, derived from native traders or slaves; if, indeed, the lakes we see on the old maps were not simply copies, with variations, of Ptolemy's "fountains of the Nile." Maravi or Lake Nyassa might, however, have been known to the Portuguese (Vol. II., p. 239), and even been reached by some half-caste slave-hunters, who had begun to go far afield for their human merchandise. But it is very certain that Portugal did not actually "discover" the features of Central Africa which appear on maps prepared within a few years of her people settling on the coast, and quite as certain that she did not make an effective occupation of regions which she knew of and claimed as part of her possessions three hundred years later.

Accordingly, by the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese colonies in Africa, east and west, had been laid out.

* Rankin: "The Zambesi Basin and Nyassaland" (1893), pp. 141, 170.

They never increased in size either, though at best their outline was always vague, and, indeed, at the time when Europe found it necessary to partition the sovereignty of Africa, a great many of the places snatched from the Arabs had returned to the old masters. By this "ineffective occupation" of others, the natives had relapsed into barbarism without the Portuguese interfering with that natural decadence, albeit the ethnologist's theory is that no people in a state of savagedom have ever fallen from a higher estate. The races of the kingdom of Congo are proof enough of the contrary.

However, for a long time these colonies or trading-posts were amazingly prosperous. The adventurers who had sought fortune on the African coast lived in a condition of barbaric splendour.

Prosperity
and decay.

But the splendour was largely of the "Epicurean stye"; style and the means for enjoying it were derived mainly from the profits of the slave trade. Business of a more legitimate character was done with Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India, and with Brazil, and a good deal of ivory, gold-dust, gums, dye-woods, and other tropical products were sent to the mother country. Yet, at a very early date piracy was openly pursued. Duarte Barbosa, writing in 1512, declares—evidently without dreaming of the statement being in any way discreditable—that Portuguese ships lay in wait about Cape Guardafui for the purpose of intercepting the Arab craft plying between the Red Sea and India.

The buying and selling of men and women was, however, the most lucrative trade of the first African colonies. All of the European settlements along the western shore were engrossed in the same business (Vol. I., p. 65). Portugal, however, was the first to set the example, and, owing to the nearness of her colony of Brazil, she was enabled to pursue the deportation of black men more readily than any of the other Powers. Before Prince Henry's death a cargo of two hundred slaves had been sent out of the country, and for more than three centuries the traffic continued briskly, the

Portuguese not abandoning it until European opinion compelled a decree to that effect. But, even then, the law was obeyed very reluctantly,

due to the Portuguese in earlier days must, with few exceptions, be credited to these illiterate men. Less than thirty years

ago a traveller who happened to be in Benguela was witness to a gang of three thousand blacks arriving from the interior. They are still shipped (under the odd designation of "colonials") to work in the São Thome plantations for five years, though the planter can easily, with the connivance of the officials, manage to get the unfortunate "colonials" recontracted for a longer period without their permission being asked or obtained. And, undoubtedly, were there any longer a demand for slaves in Brazil, the want would not long remain unsatisfied, in spite of the cruisers off the coast. No later than 1888 Captain



MOSQUE OF WANGWANA WA SHAH. IN THE LAMU DISTRICT, MARKING THE SITE OF THE TOWN WHERE LIONGO, THE NATIVE POET, LIVED.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

and the officials quite understood that it had been enacted only half-heartedly. As late as 1890 a case of disguised slave-trading was more than suspected, and domestic slavery is still followed in the Portuguese colonies. Until very recently, the Pombeiros, or half-caste caravan-leaders, were met with everywhere throughout southern Africa north of the British territories engaged in bartering for "esclavos"; and whatever explorations were

Lugard met a large barge full of "prisoners" coming down the Zambesi in charge of an Indian in Portuguese uniform, who confessed that his charges were really slaves; and, two years later, Mr. Thomson fell in with a Portuguese half-caste engaged in slave raids west of Lake Nyassa.

When the slave trade decayed, then the colonies, especially those on the west coast, which had fattened on it, began to decline

also. However, long before that period the prospects of Portugal in Africa had received a blow from which they never recovered. This was the temporary absorption of the mother country by Spain and the apathy which overtook the kingdom even after the restoration of its reigning dynasty. Little by little her African territory got reduced in size by the Arabs regaining possession, and much of what she still retained without dispute was partially deserted. Over great tracts throughout which, at an earlier date, churches and forts were scattered, there remained not even a semblance of authority or a single representative of the faith. Crumbling walls are all that mark the site of former settlements, and when the Portuguese attempted of late to resume effective possession of their old territories, the expeditions sent for that purpose had some difficulty in finding the districts they were in search of. A few ruins at Zumbo, five hundred miles from the coast, mark the limits to which Portugal had reached in 1740, and at Tete the old church is a forest-covered growth,

worshipped by the once semi-Christianised natives as a kind of fetish.* Even towns like Mombasa on the east coast, and the much more important one of São Paulo de Loando on the west, were to some extent, in spite of the renaissance which began in 1884, largely in ruins. On every hand the eye met with the remains of former grandeur and the symbols of a prosperity that existed no longer.

These are mostly ruins of churches and other ecclesiastical buildings. The Portuguese have always been an extremely pious though not always a very moral people; and their piety, minus any kind of morality, followed them to Africa (Vol. I., p. 155), with the result that the religion has gone and the immorality remains. They are not impious, only ignorant, like the Portuguese sea-captain who, a recent traveller tells us, wishing to be polite to a priest who was his passenger, told him that "he had just been reading about one Jesu Christ. He seemed a good sort of man, but perhaps His Reverence might have known him?" The early conquerors were, however,

* Kerr: "The Far Interior," Vol. II., p. 42.



OLD FORT AT MOMBASA, BUILT DURING THE PORTUGUESE OCCUPATION.

(From a Photograph taken for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

followed by a long train of priests amply supplied with funds for propagating the faith among the natives (Vol. I., p. 111). These missionaries were chiefly Jesuits and Dominicans, who, until they fell a-quarrelling, were ready instruments to the hand of the civil and military authorities in reducing the natives to an abject condition of obedience. Ecclesiastical bickerings, and the revolt of the oppressed tribes, led to the disappearance of the Church from wide regions where nowadays the only signs of a flourishing hierarchy ever having possessed them are traditional repetitions of hymns that no longer convey any meaning and churches with tropical climbers covering the ruins into which they have fallen.

All this was, however, slow in coming to pass. Decay was staved off as long as the slave trade lasted, and not only Mozambique and Angola, but the Guinea settlements farther north, and the factory at Whydah, where the subjects of several nations did business on sufferance, besides a number of isolated traders in the native territories, flourished exceedingly on this infamous branch of commerce.

The difficulty was, however, to get any colonists, in the strict sense of the term, and when the colonies ceased to pay expenses the fact became a serious one for the mother country, which had to meet the deficit. A prohibitory tariff and a swarm of underpaid and naturally corrupt officials made good government and prosperity impossible. Add to this an absence of anything like enterprise and enlightenment among the older colonists, most of whom were dashed with native blood, or, if white, sunk into the slothful, apathetic ways of the people among whom they had settled, and the decadence of Portugal in Africa may be explained. Many of the settlers, indeed, were—and are—convicts who have been guilty of the most heinous crimes at home. Murderers are common: for, owing to the absence of capital punishment in Portugal, the vilest of this class are sent to expiate their atrocities

in Africa. Even then, it often happens that their punishment is little more than nominal. If influential, or furnished with money, they are often freed almost as soon as they arrive in the colony, and speedily make money keeping grog-shops or in following some other branches of business. It is only fair to say that crime is rare, for the simple reason that, though the capital sentence is not carried out, there is no law against the convict who has returned to his old ways being killed “by accident,” and it is not in the power of man to prevent one sentenced to a severe flogging from dying under the lash. It is, indeed, grimly hinted that few recover from a severe sentence of this kind, though the fact does not appear in the *procès verbal*. Two murderers who died after receiving a thousand stripes apiece were gravely described in an official document as having met their death by catching cold on their way to the hospital from the place of punishment! There is also a difficulty in a convict running away, and the certainty that nobody would trouble him much if one of them disappeared by any “accident.” Hence, the moralist can readily understand why murder in Portugal is common—the assassin having nothing worse to fear than transportation to a pleasant part of Africa—and scarce in Africa, where folk outside the prison walls are not quite so soft-hearted. This refers to Angola. In Mozambique the conditions are not quite so agreeable; for, though the climate of the west coast leaves something to be desired, that of the opposite shore is decidedly bad. Hamilton, writing in 1726, tells us that when “a Reynol, or European Portuguese, in India commits any capital crime, instead of punishing him according to their national or martial laws, he is banished hitherto for as many years as the Viceroy of Goa and his Council shall order; and very few ever return from their exile; for five or six years is a long life here.”

Some of the convicts enlist in the army, and many are policemen, though most of these are negroes. In addition to this somewhat objectionable colonist, not a few

of the officers and private soldiers are men with a "something" against them; and it is whispered that there are civilians serving the king in Africa not altogether owing to their superior merits in the eyes of those who have the giving away of administrative posts.

Colonists have been bribed to settle in that capacity. Early last century the greater part of the country on both banks of the Zambesi, and much of that between Sofala and Sena, was parcelled out and offered to Portuguese women for the period of their lives, the succession excluding the males, upon the sole condition that they married Europeans of Portuguese extraction and dwelt upon their holdings. However, even these "prazos da Coroa," or crown grants, were insufficient to overcome the unpopularity of the colony after the first golden dreams of its conquerors had been dissipated. In the absence of legitimate holders, either in sufficient numbers or in purity of blood, the original edict had to be extended until these tracts fell into the hands of "filhas de Africanos ou Asiaticos," or women with a slight sprinkling of African or Asiatic blood. Then, by the mergence of several "prazos" into one, little principalities were controlled by a single individual. Some of the owners maintained small armies of slaves and "colonos," or free natives, set authority at defiance, made war upon each other, and levied blackmail upon whomsoever could be made to pay it. One Guão, with 17,000 of his dependents, helped the Government by inflicting a severe defeat upon a revolted chief; and about the year 1857 the district between the Likugu and Antonio Rivers was brought into subjection by João de Silva, with his own resources. In like manner, the Landuns, a Zulu race, under Umzila, were driven out of the Sena country by Manuel de Souza. But these feudal princelings became so serious a difficulty that laws were passed with the intention of doing away with them; the only difficulty being that the Government had no power to carry them into execution. However, what the Crown could not do, the

abolition of the slave trade and the Act of Emancipation succeeded in accomplishing: so that at this hour the system is fast breaking up.* Curious though this plan for attracting the right kind of colonist is, it must not be imagined that the ingenious Pombal was the inventor of it. Something much the same was tried in Virginia, in the old colonial days, in Canada under the French, and in Algeria not many years ago. Indeed, it is hard to distinguish between giving a tract of African land to a woman on condition that she marries and bestowing a farm on any *bonâ fide* settler, with a fixed acreage for his wife and children—a law actually in force in most of the British colonies and in the United States; while it is not necessary to remind the reader that colonies much more suitable for honest men than Angola or Mozambique were for many years the lands into which the mother country shot her moral rubbish.

Monopolies, of course, raged. It was a period of these curious industrial heresies. Among others, a Banian or merchant company from India obtained, in 1686, the exclusive right of trade between Diu and Mozambique and the privilege of having all crimes and disputes occurring amongst themselves settled by their own judges, who were generally Jesuit padres, most of the Indians being inoderately good Catholics from Goa. But the system did not work well. The missionaries were denounced as an association of smugglers, and, in 1759, were packed off to Goa, and their property was confiscated. This was, perhaps, all that was desired; to this day, the Governor-General is housed in the old Jesuit convent. The Banians, owing to their causing trouble by insolence, knavery, and deceit, were ordered to concentrate at Mozambique, and in 1777 their monopoly was withdrawn. These pushing folk who, without any special privileges, now monopolise so much of the coast trade, have ever since increased in number and in wealth until all the chief merchants are Indians. They may be found in every

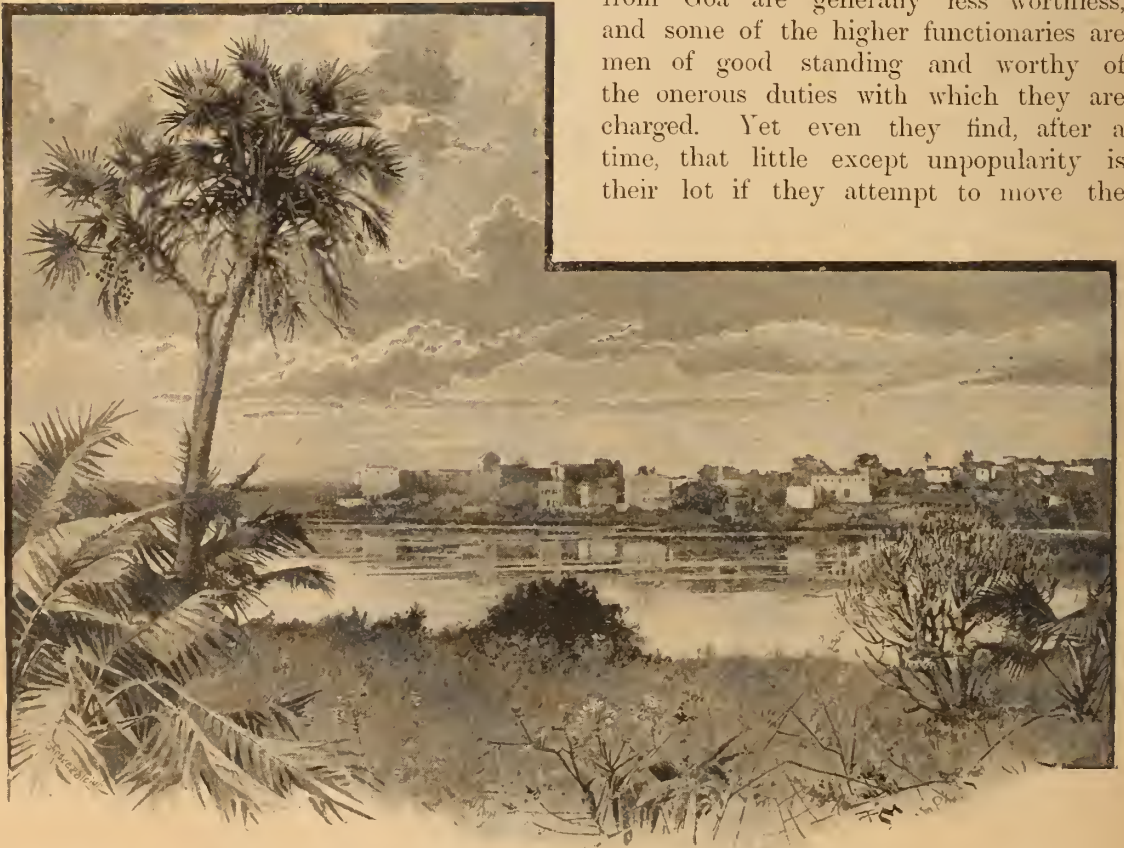
* O'Neill, *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1882, p. 602.

port, and up every river, bartering European goods for native produce; and, by searching out new markets and creating trade, they stimulate the industry of the native Makua. Not loved, they nevertheless thrive. They are in East Africa what the Jews are in North Africa; but, unlike the Jews, they do not permanently settle in the country. To India, in accordance with the law of their race, they must, if life permits, eventually return. Hence, they invest none of their money in the land where they have made it; they remit all their surplus gains to the country which they call "home" and out of which they cannot even bring their wives.*

* O'Neill, "On the Coast Lands and some Rivers and Ports of Mozambique" (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1882, p. 603)

But of all the drawbacks to the development of Portuguese Africa, the traders declare that the restrictions and obstacles put in their way by the local government are the most intolerable. Under the new state of matters, by which large tracts of country in the Zambesi basin are, in imitation of the British policy, given over to companies, better things may be expected. As a rule, however, the officials are not a high class of men or individuals whose past history will bear a very searching scrutiny. A "Commandante Militar," having under him ten or twenty Angola negroes, governs the tract of country in the vicinity of his post in a manner which is "a grotesque caricature of civilised administration." This refers to the European officers. Those brought from Goa are generally less worthless, and some of the higher functionaries are men of good standing and worthy of the onerous duties with which they are charged. Yet even they find, after a time, that little except unpopularity is their lot if they attempt to move the

Officialdom,
etc.



MOMBASA, FROM THE NORTH SHORE, SHOWING THE CUSTOM-HOUSE AND FORT (HYPHÆNE OR DOOM PALM, THE ONLY SPECIES THAT BRANCHES, IN THE FOREGROUND).

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

stagnant mass of ignorance and corruption which has become the normal condition of the convict or semi-convict colonists. So bitter has this antagonism been that well-meaning governors have given up the effort in despair. The petty officials have seldom the slightest ideas of what is necessary for the development of commerce; if they have, it is the last of their wishes to precipitate a condition of affairs which will reduce their self-importance and, above all, their opportunities for "squeezing," by a well-understood system of terrorisation, the still more ignorant people under their control. "One I saw last year—an officer of European birth, possibly transported there for no very creditable conduct—had obtained a holiday, and was journeying from his post on the Shiré to Mopea in a native dug-out, surrounded by native women, and in a state of gross intoxication at five in the morning, firing at random without intermission on the banks from an antique Snider, greatly to the peril of those on shore and little to the credit and dignity of Portuguese officials."* One of these pompous little placemen asked to be pardoned from dining with an Englishman whom he met at a lonely post, a hundred miles distant from any other European, on the plea that during the then (1891) strained relations between Portugal and Great Britain, such a piece of courtesy "might bring on an international complication."

In the inland settlements most of the merchants are of Goanese extraction, noted for their kindness and hospitality to strangers of no matter what nationality. The convict element has, however, always been of evil influence to the Portuguese colonies in Africa. The liberty they enjoy has already been alluded to. Some, after accumulating wealth,

* Rankin, *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1893, p. 226, and "The Zambesi Basin and Nyassaland," p. 195.



ROUND TOWER, KILINDINI HARBOUR, MOMBASA.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

will even assist the Government pecuniarily and put the officials under such degrading obligations that it is nothing uncommon to see a murderer decorated during his term of punishment, or what in England is known as "ticket-of-leave," with the chivalric Order "de Christo." Sir Abel Magwitch, wearing the insignia of SS. Michael and George, or William Sikes, Esq., C.B., would be scarcely more anomalous! Among such a class, debauched on one side by drink-shops, and, on the other, hunted into the swamps and jungles to escape the poll-tax, the black natives do not lead a very Elysian life in either East

or West Africa—though the west is, perhaps, on the whole, the more advanced and better governed. Telegraphs, steamers, and more frequent posts have made communication between different parts of the colonies more easy. But, for the best part of four centuries so isolated were even the coast stations, that when Lourenço Marquez, established by a slave-trader of that name, on the shores of Delagoa Bay, was seized by the Zulus in 1842, it took a year for the news to reach Mozambique by way of Brazil. So little did the Portuguese attempt to develop their colonies that from 1545 to 1828 the place in question, now the terminus of a railway to the Transvaal, consisted of a single house surrounded by a few native huts. It does not seem that they had even crossed over to the south side of Delagoa Bay, though, when the English attempted to make use of what they had left so long unutilised,

the mere fact of that solitary house having stood where it did was enough to determine Marshal MacMahon, to whom the question was referred for decision, to declare the British claim from the Dutch settlement there and the cession by the native chiefs null and void.

A brief sketch of the vast portions of Africa held by Portugal on both sides of the continent is necessary in order to understand questions which arose soon after the events of 1884. What has been already said applies, with more or less accuracy, equally to east and west.*

* The original documents, which contain the history of which the foregoing pages furnish an outline, are, for the most part, in Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish. Some of them will be referred to in the next chapter, and references to the majority may be found in Ternaux-Compan's "*Bibliothèque Asiatique et Africaine*" (1841). A fuller summary is contained in Murray's "*South Africa*" (1891), and Keltie's "*Partition of Africa*" (1893). See also Kunstman, "*Afrika vor den Entdeckungen der Portugiesen*" (1853); Costa: "*Viagem a Guiné Portuguesa*" (1889); Martins: "*Os Filhos de D. João*" (1891), etc.



LAMU INTERIOR, SHOWING WALLS HUNG WITH CHINA MANY CENTURIES OLD.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

CHAPTER II.

COLONISATION: PORTUGAL IN AFRICA: MOROCCO; GUINEA; ANGOLA; MOÇAMBIQUE.

Rise of the Portuguese Colonies—Morocco—Slaves and Gold—Elmina—Effects of the Reformation on African Colonisation—Portuguese Guinea—Traces of the old Masters of the Gold Coast—Early Discoveries of the Portuguese—Modern Portuguese Colonies on the Guinea Shore—Angola—First Arrivals—Native Wars—Paulo Diaz and the Way he Colonised—Flemish Settlers—Foundation of Benguela—Slaughter of Pioneers—Cambambe Silver-mines—Ambuscades and Fevers—Arrival of White Women—A Faithless Queen—The Dutch—The Coming of the Capuchins—Their Quarrel with the Jesuits—A Mat Currency and Copper Coin—The French have a Word to Say touching Freedom of Trade—Extending Eastwards—Trans-continental Explorations—A Hinterland—Decay of Angola—Remains of Ancient Splendour—Portuguese Pride in the Country—Scenery—Resources—Progress—Portuguese East Africa—Waxing and Waning—The Arabs and their Work—Persians—Disappointed Gold-seekers—The Jesuits—A Day of Better Things—England's Share—The Geography and Resources of Portuguese East Africa—The Native Races—The Makua—Wa-Yao—Mañanja and Zulu Stocks—The "Black" Portuguese—Prazo-holders—Portuguese Colonists—Young Moçambique—A Race without a Religion—Social Virtues—Rainfall and Vegetation—The Tsetse Fly and other Plagues—Climate—Animal Life—The Future of "The Royal State."

As the early Portuguese crept along the west coast they landed here and there, built forts after a time, and founded settlements for trade. In this way the first Portuguese "colonies" were formed in the guise of mere posts for dealing with the natives, just as were those of the other European Powers. They only became properly organised into dependencies of the mother country when it was necessary to take cognisance of the encroachments of their rivals (Vol. I., p. 44).

Portugal, however, possessed from an early date various hardly-won and hardly-held footholds on the shores of Morocco. Thus, from 1415 to 1580, the Portuguese were masters of Centa. In 1468 they destroyed Anfa, and, erecting Casablanca (Dar el-Beida) on its site, occupied that place until 1515. For ninety-six years they held the now ruined El K'sar es Seghir, evacuating it in 1553, and the picturesque Agadir, or Santa Cruz—where no European has lived for over a century—was, from 1503 to 1536, a Portuguese stronghold. Tangier also was a Portuguese town from 1471 to 1662, with the exception of the period when Portugal was under the Spanish crown. Arzila was taken in 1471, and finally evacuated by the Spaniards in 1588, though Mehedia, or Marimora, which afterwards was captured by and from the Spaniards, resisted with terrible slaughter a Portuguese attack

in 1515. Mazagan was a fief of His Most Faithful Majesty from 1502 to 1770, and Azimur in 1513, though almost immediately abandoned as worthless. Saffi was held from 1508 to 1641. But, like all the other European posts on the Barbary shore, these places were mere fortresses, holding little communication with the interior, and that seldom of a friendly character. No doubt, both the Portuguese and the Spaniards meditated, and the latter still meditate, using their precarious footholds on the African shore as a basis from which more important conquests could be made. But though traces of the Portuguese can be seen half-way from Mazagan to Marakish (the city of Morocco, Vol. I., p. 308), they never succeeded in reaching the southern capital with an army, and the fate of Dom Sebastian's attempted march to Fez has for four centuries made the plain of Al K'sar-el-Kebir famous in song and story. In short, the Moroccan possessions of Portugal were never colonies even in the vague way that the early settlements on the Guinea shore were entitled to that designation. There, slaves, as everywhere else, were the chief articles of commerce; but ivory, gold, and gums were also traded. Thus João de Santarem and Pedro Escobar touched, we have seen (p. 4), at a spot on the Gold Coast where they obtained such a quantity of gold

that they named it La Mina (Elmina), and found the same metal at other places along that shore. Hence the name which it bears to this day. By 1482 a settlement was founded at this place; yet even then a Portuguese named Juan Benardino was found there intent on the search for "ouro." This seemed to have been a good deal more plentiful than nowadays; for the legs and arms of the chief were covered with plates of it. Around his neck was a chain of gold, and many small balls and tags of it hung from his beard. Even the minor dignitaries had chains and various ornaments of gold on their hair and beard. Nevertheless, at that date the rovers who had touched on the coast were in such bad odour that it was with difficulty the black men could be persuaded to permit the whites to land and build the fort they desired to live in. But after some little bloodshed these preliminaries

were arranged and a solemn mass was appointed to be annually celebrated in honour of Prince Henry in the first chapel and stronghold erected by the Portuguese in West Africa—all of which may be duly read in the folios of Manuel de Faria y Sousa, "Cavallero de la Orden de Christo, y de la Casa Real."*

In this way, or in a manner much the same, other settlements were formed during the next three or four centuries—some to be early lost in the fortunes of war, or surrendered because they were not worth retaining, or made over by a friendly arrangement to rivals more energetic in the Guinea trade.

* "Africa Portuguesa" (1681).

However, until the Reformation destroyed, in the eyes of England and the other Protestant countries, the sanctity of the Papal Bull by which Portugal had up to that date enjoyed a monopoly of the trade of savage Africa, the Portuguese had matters pretty much their own way. The result, however, of the revolution then wrought in the mind of Europe was that Portugal had gradually to relinquish much of the coast to other traders—English, Dutch, Danish, and Prussian (Vol. I,

p. 44). But to this day none of the different

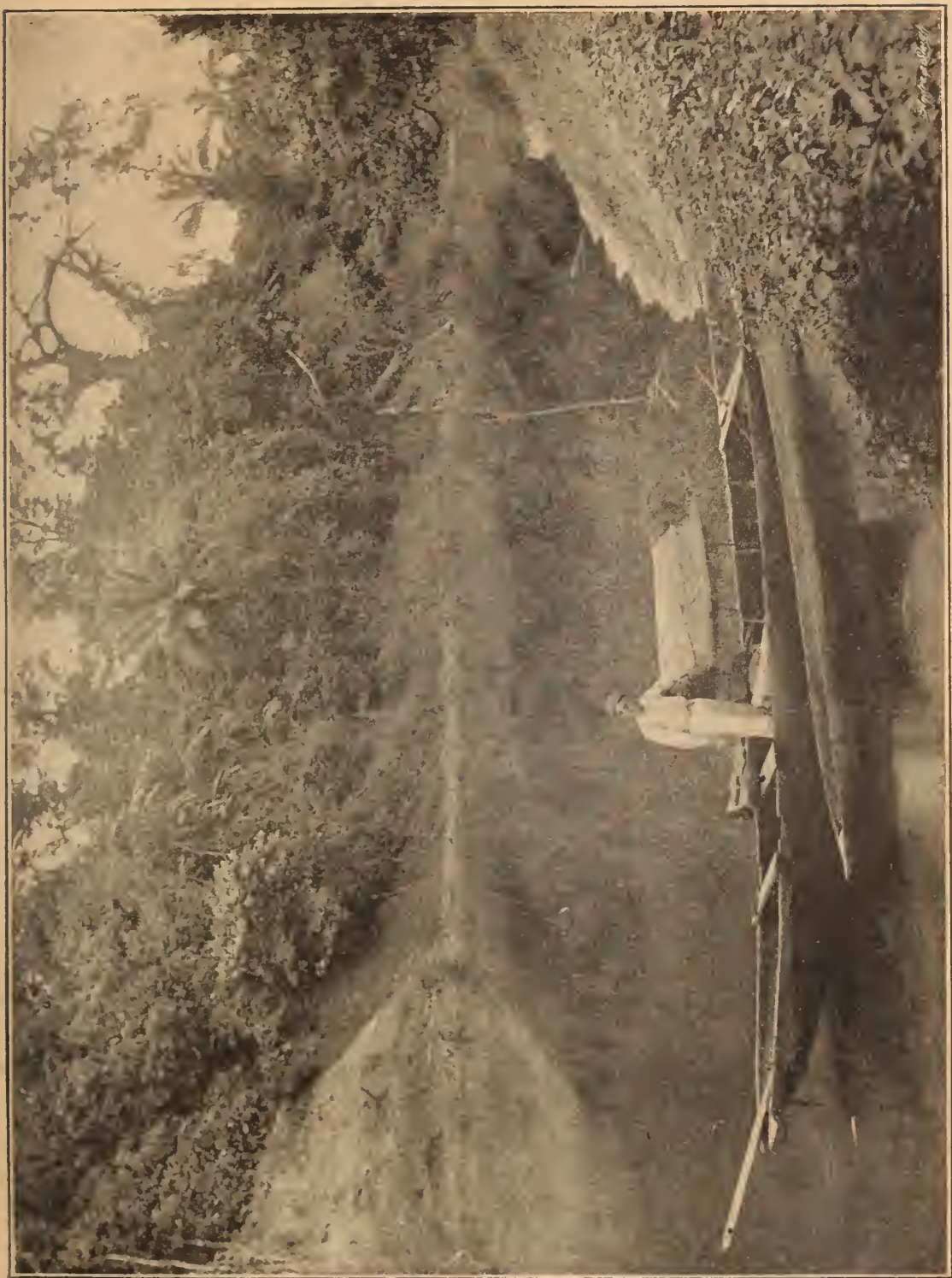
Traces of the Portuguese on the Guinea Coast.

masters of the Guinea Coast have left so many traces of their rule as the Portuguese. They seem to have mingled more with the natives than any of the other traders; for, if we except English in modern days, Portuguese words are the most dominant of all the European languages on the west coast. "Palaver," a wordy talk, is, for instance,



HOWE STREET, FREETOWN, SIERRA LEONE.
(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Hallikey.)

from "palabra": "caboeer," applied to the Ashanti and Dahomian chiefs, is from "cabeceiro"; "piccaninny," the negro word for a child all the world over, is from "picania." We hear (or used to hear) a great deal about the "customs" or annual fêtes of Dahomey. This word is from the Portuguese "costume," as "fetish"—now almost an adopted word in the English and French languages, just as "palaver" and "caboeer" are—is from "festiço"; while the expression "dash me" (that is, "give me"), which the visitor to West Africa is obliged to hear very early and very often in his intercourse with the natives of Guinea, is from the Portuguese



AT INFRAMANJL. ANCOBRA RIVER, GOLD COAST.
(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligan.)

"das me." In the jargon of "the Coast" and "the Bights" it is transformed into a noun, "dash," which applies to all kinds of presents or exactions which custom has constituted into taxes paid to chiefs and other sable dignitaries. Thus the propitiatory bribe of a new trader in the Oil Rivers district—the Niger Coast Protectorate of a later nomenclature—is known as his "shake-hand dash." Little though the Portuguese influence is now felt in West Africa compared with that of newer comers, it must have been powerful at one time in order to be so verbally persistent as the survival of these words among the natives nearly two centuries after they were driven from the Gold Coast so strikingly implies. The truth seems to be that they amalgamated more freely with the black population than (happily) their rivals have done. This is shown by the traces of mixed blood not only in every spot where they settled, and in every home port which traded with Africa—to such an extent that Lisbon and Oporto are markedly negroidised compared with the country districts—but even in the interior of Sierra Leone, among the people of Gbemna and Soro.* Although the Dutch remained on the Gold Coast for 232 years, there are no similar proofs of their occupation, so far as the language of the people is concerned, nor even now are there many words derived from the English in general use. Several of the names given to places on the Gold Coast still remain translated into English, though in the majority of cases the Portuguese designations have been supplanted by native ones. Thus we have Cape Three Points (Cabo de Tres Puntas), Gold Coast (Costa del Ouro), and Devil's Mount (Monte del Diablo, p. 20). But few people, unless more learned in the history of African discovery than the average

Early discoveries and latter-day remnants.

"Coaster," know the river Prah as the Rio de San Juan, or Ampeni as Terra Pequena, though Ancobra River (p. 21) may be recognised as the Rio Cobre—in a corrupt form, Elmina as

São Jorge da Mina, and Cape Coast as the Cabo Corso of its first masters (Vol. I., p. 45).†

What these early Guinea traders and explorers knew of the interior we have already indicated (Vol. I., pp. 110–124). It was perhaps largely legendary. Yet the mediæval "Portuguese" was a man of metal, though cruel, fanatical, and absolutely unfamiliar with any ethical code into which scruples entered—these inconvenient portions of an exploiter's baggage being, it may be remarked, seldom taken to Africa by the pioneers of any nation, or very early reserved solely for ornamental purposes. Eager to win the black men's gold, and the black men's souls, they did, however, penetrate some way into the interior; and long before Reichard broached his theory of the Niger mouth—to be scoffed at for his pains (Vol. I., p. 265)—Portuguese vessels had sailed into it as far as Benin, and not improbably much farther.‡

The Portuguese possessions in Africa, though curtailed by events of which we shall have occasion to speak farther on, are still about twenty-six times as big as the mother country, and entail on her a heavy pecuniary loss; but all that remains of that Guinea from whence one of the king's titles is derived (Vol. I., p. 45) is 350 square miles of unhealthy country wedged between the British colony of Gambia on the north and that now known as French Guinea on the south. Zighenchor, on the Casamanza, has been ceded to France; so that Cacheo, Bissão, Boulam, the Bissago Isles—not to mention the fertile São Thome and Ilha do Principe, or Prince's Island, and a few other places—comprise about all that still flies the Lusitanian flag in that part of the world. What it was in the palmy days of slavery we have seen (Vol. I., p. 154); what it is nowadays the reader may imagine from the brief account of the much more prosperous colonies farther south. Everything is stagnant, the two

† Ellis: "History of the Gold Coast," pp. 46, 47.

‡ Villault de Bellefond: "Relation des Costes d'Afrique appelées Guinée," etc. (1667); Labat: "Voyages du Chevalier Des Marchais en Guinée," etc. (1730), etc.

* Garrett, *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1892, p. 434.

hundred thousand people in it are mostly negroes of low, unprogressive type, and were it not for national pride Portugal would be glad enough to part with these unprofitable portions of her African empire. Yet the land is rich and intersected by endless waterways, and for the kind of people inhabiting it not supremely unhealthy; for a southern race like the Portuguese manage to bear up against a climate which soon prostrates a northern folk. Moreover, most of them are largely tinctured with native blood, and some of the European strains are curious enough. João II., finding, for instance, that volunteer colonists were never likely to be numerous in St. Thomas, gave the Jews in his kingdom the choice of being baptised or of settling on that fertile though unhealthy isle. Great numbers were, it is said, sent out in 1484, and married with native women brought over from Angola. Whatever truth there may be in this legend, the persistent Jewish type is no longer to be detected—"which," as a facetious traveller remarks, "is decidedly providential." For a union of the Jew and the Negro would be, commercially speaking, dangerous to Christianity. But the half-caste wherever found in Africa—we might say, anywhere else—is a listless, unenterprising sort of wastrel, ever ready to drift into native ways; and in Portuguese Guinea, even more than in other parts of Africa, it may be affirmed of him in Wordsworth's lines—

"Deliberately and undeceived,
Those wild men's vices he received,
And gave them back his own."

ANGOLA.

But farther south, in spite of some prunings at the hands of the various congresses and conferences which have undertaken the orderly division of Africa, Portugal still holds over four hundred and seventy thousand square miles, and exercises authority, in a more or less effective manner, over about ten millions of people, black, brown, and white, the latter being, of course, a small minority of the whole. This is the great

colony which the Portuguese love to speak of as the "Kingdom of Angola." The first formal act of taking possession of this country was in October, 1574, at a spot where the city of Loanda now stands, the native king receiving the new-comers with delight. By-and-by, however, he discovered he had entertained masters instead of guests. But by that time it was too late. Stone forts had been erected alongside of white churches, and before long it was hard to say whether the black-frocked priest or the mail-clad soldier exercised most control over the people. Massacres—followed by reprisals in the customary fashion of African conquests—form a considerable portion of the history of those early days. In February, 1583, for instance, the native king's army—so large that it extended for two leagues—was defeated by Paulo Diaz, the first Portuguese Governor, with such success that this humane ruler ordered several horse-loads of the dead men's noses to be sent to Loanda as evidence of his victory and to inspire the blacks with fear of his arms. In celebration of this slaughter the settlement of Nossa Senhora da Victoria was founded at Massangano. Flemish settlers were then introduced; but nearly the whole of them quickly died from the effects of the climate—an experiment in Belgian colonisation which was not repeated, the Congo State being still shunned by the compatriots of those hapless adventurers in a country much better fitted for white men than the equatorial lands farther north. Benguella was next founded by a party of seventy soldiers. "But," writes Feo Cardozo in his history of the Governors of Angola, "fifty of these having walked out unarmed on the beach to amuse themselves by fishing, were surprised by a large number of blacks, who cut their heads off and then attacked the twenty men in the fort. They defended themselves bravely until all but two, who managed to escape, were killed."

For ages it was much the same as the story of colonisation in Africa has ever been. The

Entertaining
enemies
unawares.

The first
Flemings
in Africa.

whites were constantly engaged in "little wars" with the powerful "Sovas" or native chiefs, and, as they extended farther and farther

rumoured silver-mines of Cambambe, which are still only rumours, was massacred to the number of 200, and the new Governor, trying to retrieve the reverses of his predecessor, lost other 200 men by fever and hunger. It was



MONTE DEL DIABLO (DEVIL'S MOUNT), GOLD COAST.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Hallihey.)

eastwards, with the wild men on their "hinterland." Only the Portuguese, unlike the English and French, did not advance, in the shape of effective occupation, very far into the interior; so that the "hinterland" of Angola remained for three centuries much as it was when Paulo Diaz was laying the foundations of the colony. The story of ambushade and slaughter gets monotonous. Thus in 1595 the expedition sent to take possession of the

Native
wars.

in this year also that the first white women arrived in Angola. They were twelve in number and all of them obtained husbands within a few hours of their landing. By-and-by, however, the "Sovas" found their masters, so that by 1606 Balthazar Rebello de Araglio meditated a journey across Africa, and might have anticipated Livingstone and Livingstone's legendary predecessors (Vol. II., pp. 163-165), had he not been recalled to

relieve the garrison of Cambambe, again closely besieged by the blacks.

All this time the native sovereign was recognised as the nominal king. Then in 1621 Ginga Bandi, having professed Christianity, was proclaimed Queen of Angola, upon which her sable Majesty promptly poisoned her brother, abjured the new faith, and for thirty years waged a bitter warfare against the Portuguese. About this time the Dutch, who had been the keenest of rivals to the Portuguese on the west coast,

Hostile
Dutchmen
and a faith-
less queen.

tried to obtain possession of Loanda as a port of shipment for slaves to their colonies in America, and in August, 1641, managed to capture the coveted place, the Portuguese retiring to Massangano, where they suffered terribly

joining the Dutch and rising against their enemies, now hampered on every side. The Hollanders, indeed, behaved in the fashion only too common among the filibustering adventurers of the period; for while there was a truce between the belligerents—news having arrived that the Dutch and the Portuguese were at peace in Europe—they treacherously attacked the latter, killed principal officers and forty men, and took the Governor of Angola and 123 men prisoners. Then war followed almost uninterruptedly until the people of Rio de Janeiro, afraid that if the Dutch held Loanda there would be a difficulty in shipping slaves for Brazil, fitted out an expedition which compelled the enemy to capitulate. Before this date the Italian Capuchins had established

The coming
of the
Capuchins.



ESSAMEN GOLD MINE, ON RIVER ANCOBRA, GOLD COAST.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligen.)

from the evil climate of that spot. Meanwhile, the native chiefs hoped to take vengeance for the wrongs of many years by

their famous missions in the kingdom of Congo, farther north, the ruins of which we have already visited (Vol. III., pp. 119-121). They

now passed into Angola, and founded similar establishments in that country, which, until they and the Jesuits quarrelled, did more than the Portuguese arms to pacify the Leballos, Quissamas, the Sova N'golla Caboce and the Dembos Ambuillas at Encoge, who had all these years been at war with the Portuguese.

Up to the year 1694 the only currency in Angola had been the little straw mats, valued at twopence, which are still employed as money in Kabinda, under the name of Libongas. But at that date copper money was introduced. In 1758 the Portuguese made a settlement at Encoge, though their establishment at Kabinda proved a failure, the climate killing off most of the garrison, and the rest surrendering to the

Extending eastwards.

French, who insisted that there should be no obstacles to freedom of trade on the coast of Loango. For five years—well on to 1789—the natives of Mossulo kept the Portuguese so busily employed that it was not until early in this century that the old project of an overland communication between the west and east coasts was renewed. The main facts of these enterprises have been already narrated (Vol. II., pp. 163–164). But even more important than the journeys of Lacerda and the Pombeiros was the attempt of the Governor José d'Oliveira Barbosa to bring the waters of the Kwanza river into Loanda by a canal fourteen leagues long. However, barely 3,000 fathoms were dug, and this hot, unhealthy metropolis of West Africa is still without a supply even from the still nearer Bengo river.*

Cardozo wrote in the first two decades of this century, and had the courage to denounce the slave trade, which was then the

The decay of Angola.

chief business of Loanda and the colony generally. Yet long before that period Angola had seen its best days. Apart from the blight caused by the Spanish possession of Portugal, the superior attractions of Brazil had been too much for the Portuguese who cared to seek their fortunes

abroad, and even for those who had settled on the African coast. Hence Loanda and the other towns in the colonies on the western shore were little more than entrepôts for shipping blacks to the Brazilian plantations. Then, when this traffic ceased, the decay of the country which lived by it was rapid. São Paulo da Assumpção de Loanda, to give the place the full name it received when it was recaptured on Our Lady's Day from the Dutch, is still a large, and even a fine, city (Vol. II., p. 216) compared with the shabby places to the north of it. Its harbour, rapidly shoaling up, is even yet the best on the coast, and to a voyager from the poor colonial villages on the Guinea Coast has an air of bustle unknown to their open roadsteads or surf-guarded ports.

Yet though Loanda has improved of late years—now that it is the starting-point of an English-built railway, running 188 miles inland to Ambaca, and of an English-laid telegraph cable, which puts it into connection with the outer world—it is still largely the relic of former grandeur. The remains of the past strike the visitor more vividly than any evidences of present greatness.

A ruined colony.

Father Cavazzi, writing in 1667,† describes Loanda as surrounded by temples and monasteries instead of bastions, and in possession of a cathedral, a hospital, and a college of the Company of Jesus, who laboured here with more success than in any other part of Africa. But, when the Jesuits fell, their establishments in Angola shared the ruin. What befell Congo we have seen (Vol. III., p. 119), and the kingdom of Congo south of the great river was what Angola generally became. Ruined churches and other ecclesiastical buildings meet the eye not only in Loanda but in the interior at Golungo Alto, Ambaca, and Cassange, and in Benguella, Ambriz, and the other coast towns and capitals of the four governments‡ into which the

† Cavazzi da Montecuccolo: "Istorica descrizione de' tre regni Congo, Matamba, e Angola," etc. (1687).

‡ Ambriz, Angola (in the narrower sense), Benguella, and Mossamedes.

* Monteiro: "Angola and the River Congo" (1875), Vol. I., pp. 1–22.

colony is divided. Oxen are installed in what remains of the Jesuit colleges, and creepers peacefully cover the monasteries, the churches, and many of the country houses where, in the old days of the slave trade, a lavish hospitality was maintained. There are few ladies in the country, and society is what might be expected in the circumstances, and as society in the greater part of black Africa must be. Yet when the visitor sees the abandoned plantations—again being revived—the excellent roads, and the extremely substantial forts to keep the peace, it becomes evident to him that the Portuguese made a valiant attempt at colonisation on a great scale. To go no farther than Loanda, the fort there is large enough to shelter most of the inhabitants, and possesses a cistern capable of holding more than 166,000 gallons of water. Everything indeed—private houses and public buildings—is on a liberal scale, and the heavy erections of stone very favourably impress one arriving from the stoneless delta of the country immediately north of Angola; while the politeness of the natives is a proof of the Portuguese having taught them the desirableness of civility to the white man a great deal better than the British have managed to instruct their black man in this elementary piece of civilisation.*

Yet Angola is in many respects a land more favourable for the European than any part of the east coast, and richer in natural resources than most of Cape Colony. The swamp and forest that render the shores of Guinea so pestilent end a little way south of the Congo, and thence southwards trees get scarcer and scarcer. No forest can be seen from the sea. A little mangrove lining the insignificant rivers and the low places in their vicinity is about all that varies the open scrub, dotted with *adansonias* (Vol. III., p. 280) and *euphorbias* (Vol. III., p. 252), which distinguishes so much of the country almost to the Cape of Good Hope. But, except on the coast, the climate of Angola is not unhealthy. Inland, the country possesses

a more varied scenery than is usual in West Africa—the land rising gradually by a succession of elevations into a hilly region which ends on the great interior plateau about 3,000 feet in height. Here, indeed, at a distance of from thirty to sixty miles from the west coast, a tropical vegetation of varied beauty and fertility makes its appearance. Baobabs (*Adansonia digitata*, p. 24), euphorbias, aloes, “murires” or *stereulias*, and, among a host of other plants, the remarkable *Welwitschia mirabilis*, cover the country from Mossamedes southwards. Yet it is doubtful whether Angola will ever be a home for many white men of pure Portuguese blood, since the greater number of them must always live on the coast, and the character of the coast is seen in the dead-looking complexion of the people in Loanda. What Father Carli wrote in 1667† is still not inapplicable to the Angolese colonists, albeit the Latin races bear the African sun much better than the northerners. “Their voices were broken: they looked as if they had been dug out of their graves.”

Horses and camels cannot live in Angola. Riding-oxen, machilas or sedan-chairs (Vol. II., p. 236), and hammocks form the ordinary means of travelling. Yams, tobacco, indigo, rice, cotton, and sugar-cane can be grown with ease; and wax, buffalo-hides, copal, gum, palm-oil, and a little ivory are among the natural products exported. Iron exists plentifully in the mountains. There are gold, silver most probably, copper, lead, sulphur, and petroleum. But Angola has not yet recovered from the blight of the slave trade; it was too recent. The white people—the Portuguese, that is to say, and a few merchants and traders of other nationalities—do not exceed four thousand, and of these a large number are either ex-convicts or prisoners at large (p. 13). The mixed races, however, exceed thirty thousand in number, and are by no means a promising stock.

† “Viaggio del P. M. A. de Guattini e del P. D. Carli nel regno del Congo” (1678). See also Winwood Reade: “Savage Africa,” p. 302.

* Crouch: “Glimpses of Feverland” (1889), p. 241.

In short, Angola had a start of three centuries, and lost the advantages of this by

becoming a mere site for slave barracoons. In addition to this drawback, bad government, heavy taxes, and finances in a chronic state of disorder have handicapped the colony in the race for prosperity. It is, however, slowly improving, though the capital introduced is mainly that of

The Governor-General is always a noble of high rank, and, lest he should aim at

The recoupment of a wasted youth.

KABINDA FAMILY.



KABINDA, SHOWING THE BAOBAB (*ADANSONIA DIGITATA*) OUT OF LEAF.

(From Photographs by Mr. R. C. Phillips, Manchester.)

foreigners and not likely to be viewed, after it is sunk, with the kindest of wishes for its owners. Yet the "Kingdom of Angola" is still regarded with almost pathetic pride by the Portuguese as one of the last remnants of their once far-stretching empire.

becoming independent, his term of office is usually short. At one time the Angola colonists were hard to please in their ruler. If he did not seem to be the kind of man for Loanda, he was promptly shipped home—a kind of treatment which once upon a



QUELIMANE CHURCH.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Fred Moir.)

time the New South Wales colonists inflicted on Captain Bligh of *Bounty* fame, and with which in more recent times the Queenslanders and Natalese threatened the satraps selected to reign over them. Nevertheless, compared with the east coast, Portuguese West Africa has been well governed. For though the latter has been sorely damaged by a frequent change of high officials, the shifting of these dignitaries has been slight compared with the constant appointing and recalling in the former. In the twenty-one years preceding 1892, East Africa had sixteen Governors-General; and in the same period the district of Angoche had thirty-two chief magistrates; Inhambane, twenty-nine; Delgado, twenty-eight; Sofala, twenty-six; Quelimane, twenty-five; Tete, twenty-three; and Lourenço Marquez, twenty. A land with so many administrators could scarcely enjoy continuous prosperity. For most of them know nothing about the

country when they come to rule it, and leave before they get quit of their ignorance.

As a further contribution to the story of African colonisation, we may therefore sketch this portion of the Portuguese possessions.

PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA.*

Now that the Anglo-Portuguese Convention of June, 1891, has happily solved the territorial questions long at issue between Great Britain and Portugal, the Portuguese dominions in eastern Africa find themselves delimited pretty much in accordance with

the extreme extent of Portuguese influence in any quarter or at any time in the south-

* By H. H. Johnston, K.C.B., Imperial Commissioner and Consul-General in British Central Africa; formerly Consul for Portuguese East Africa.



EMBARKING AT INHAMBANE.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Fred Moir.)

eastern part of the Dark Continent. According to the terms of this convention, Portuguese East Africa extends along the coast from the mouth of the Ruvuma River in the north to the borders of Amatongaland in the south; inland, to the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa,* and up the valley of the Zambezi to its confluence with the great Aruangua or Luangwa River; and, south of the Zambezi, reaches to the edge of the lofty plateau on which lie the countries of the Mashona and Matabeli, the Transvaal state and the kingdom of Swaziland.

In south-eastern Africa† Portugal never at any time actually held and ruled so much territory as has been allotted to her by this agreement with Great Britain. Much of it, indeed, has never been beheld by Portuguese eyes, and there are remaining portions of these vast territories unmapped and unknown to this day.

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the majority of the European Powers were so incurious and indifferent to the value of tropical Africa that they were quite content to accept without question the assurances of one of the lesser members of their Areopagus that it ruled over the south-east coast of Africa through fifteen degrees of latitude; and on the strength of these assurances and asseverations, loudly repeated by Portugal, the map-makers of England, France, and Germany painted this lengthy coast-line with the Portuguese colours and considered the matter settled. Yet, until quite recently—

* Or, according to the less approved and older spelling, Nyassa.

† It must not be forgotten that, in a sense, Portugal dominated the whole East African coast from Somaliland to Delagoa Bay for about a hundred years—i.e., from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth—as well as the southern coast of Arabia, from Aden to Maskat (Muscat). Then an Arab uprising swept from her all her possessions north of the Ruvuma, and from the eighteenth century onwards her pretensions and aspirations have tended rather towards uniting her East and West African possessions up the valley of the Zambezi than to reconquering the sultanate of Zanzibar.

until, that is, ten or fifteen years ago—the only marks of Portuguese possession were the mainland towns of Lourenço Marquez (Delagoa Bay), Inhambane (p. 25),‡ and Quelimana (p. 25), and the little islets of Chiluané,§ Moçambique, and Ibo. Inland the only stations were Sena and Tete,|| on the Zambezi. Zumbo, at the confluence of the Luangwa and Zambezi, had been abandoned in the eighteenth century, and was only reoccupied in 1879.

As a matter of fact, until the English stirred them up to enterprising deeds during the last hundred years by their aggressive colonisation of the south-
The Arabs and their work.
 ern part of the continent, the Portuguese had shown very little originality of research in their East African conquests. They had been content to follow implicitly in the steps of the Arabs,¶ and wherever there was, or had been, an Arab settlement or trading-station, it was replaced, through guile or force, by a Portuguese fortress, and a “feira” or market for slaves, ivory, and gold. Thus, nearly every leading Portuguese town or settlement of the present day has been Arab before becoming Portuguese; and there are traces, even, of an intermediate

‡ The phonetic spelling of this name is “Inyambane.”

§ The island of Chiluané (Tshilwane) was occupied by the Portuguese in 1864, after the abandonment of the mainland settlement of Sofala.

|| Tete, too, was not founded till the beginning of the eighteenth century.

¶ The Arabs have played a very remarkable rôle in the colonisation of East Africa. Their voyages of discovery and commerce commenced long before the Christian era, and their first penetration of the gold-bearing regions of South-East Africa (the Mashona and Matabeli countries) occurred (the present writer believes) before the Bantu races had pushed southwards across the Zambezi and while the regions lying beyond that river were only tenanted by feeble tribes of Hottentots and Bushmeu. It was probably the incursion of the ancestors of the Zulus and Bechuana which led to the sudden and unrecorded extinction of the Arab gold-miners, who built those remarkable towers and fortresses in Mashonaland which were investigated by the late Mr. Theodore Bent (p. 4). This happening long before the days of gunpowder, the Bantu assailants and Arab colonists would be pretty evenly matched as regards weapons, and the superior numbers of the negroes would decide the question and lead to the annihilation or expulsion of the Arabs.

or prior occupation by Persians, in one or two instances, such as the finding of old Persian coins or pottery at Ibo and Moçambique. It is possible, however, that when the Persian colonists settled (as we know they did) in the early part of the Christian era at Lamu (pp. 1, 4, 8, 14) and other places on the Zanzibar* coast, they may have extended their trade as far south as Moçambique, or even Sofala. At any rate, Ibo, Moçambique, Parapat, or Angoche (Ngoshi), Sena, on the Zambezi—possibly, also Quelimane†—and Sofala, were all regular Arab settlements before the arrival of the Portuguese ships, under Vasco da Gama, on their way to India, led to the ousting of the Arabs and the installation of the Portuguese in their place (p. 6).

The Portuguese, however, in the course of a hundred years expelled the Arabs so thoroughly from south-eastern Africa that they have practically never reappeared there; and, but for the historical record of their having been established at the above-mentioned places, there is nothing now, on the surface, to attest their former presence there, except it be a few Arab words‡ incorporated in the languages of Ibo and Moçambique, and in the "Tshigunda," or *Lingua Franca* of the Zambezi River, and in the lighter complexions and fuller beards of the coast people and those of the Lower Zambezi, though, indeed, this might be equally due to intermixture with the Portuguese.

After driving out the Arabs, the Portuguese gathered up all the still fresh traditions of

their predecessors as to gold and silver mines in the countries north and south of the Zambezi, and devoted the latter half of the sixteenth and beginning ^{Disappointed gold-seekers.} of the seventeenth century to a very active research for the precious metals; but little was found, however, to reward them for the exertions made.§ The legendary gold mines of Manika and Mashonaland were never reached by them—in that century, at any rate—and gradually even the legends of them died out, until the journeys of Livingstone, Baines, and Carl Mauch led to their actual re-discovery. A little gold was washed in the valleys of the Rifubwe and Mazoe, and other affluents of the Zambezi, and also in the Misale and Undi countries north of that river; but there was no such supply of mineral wealth found in Zambezia as rewarded the Spanish conquerors of Central America.

After the first Portuguese gold-seekers and slave-hunters came the Jesuit priests, who created what little civilisation and improvement from mere savagery ^{The Jesuits.} is yet traceable in the Zambezi peoples. The Jesuits built churches and founded schools, and introduced the orange, lime, mango, and other useful fruit-trees,|| still to be found growing on the old sites of their stations. The Jesuits' chief head-quarters was Zumbo, at the confluence of the Luangwa and the Zambezi. From here they appear to have penetrated in a westerly direction right across the Batoka plateau even to the Upper Zambezi in the Barotse country. Sir John Kirk, when travelling in these regions with Livingstone, several times came across traces of

* Zanzibar itself is a Persian name: Zanj-i-bar—"country of the blacks," from *Zanj*, a negro.

† The Portuguese form is "Quelimane." The derivation usually suggested—namely, "Kilimani," or "on the hill"—is wrong, as there is no hill within fifty miles. The word "Quelimane" is stated to have been the name of the chief (pronounced "Kelimane") who invited the Portuguese to build there. "Kalimani," in the East African Arabic, means "interpreter." Perhaps that is the explanation of the name.

‡ Though these might have come later by the increasing spread down the coast of the great "Swahili" tongue, the language of Zanzibar, which itself has borrowed a fourth of its vocabulary from Arabic, though its grammar is purely Bantu.

§ In some cases extraordinary, as in the enterprise of Francisco Barreto, who conveyed, in 1569, an expedition of a thousand men, many horses, asses, and camels, to Sena, on the Zambezi, whence he started with five hundred followers for Manika. The tsetse fly, however, killed their horses, the natives attacked them, many died from fever, and the goal of the journey was never reached.

|| Among other special introductions of foreign plants into the Zambezi valley may be mentioned rice, which is due to the Arabs, and wheat, which was introduced either by the Portuguese or by the Jesuits.

mango and orange plantations, and even trees of Brazilian origin, which had been introduced by these indefatigable men for the benefit of the country.

Two causes contributed to the suppression

the demand for "black ivory" was rapidly growing, a temporary flicker of prosperity reached the finances of Portuguese East Africa. Some rather handsome buildings were erected at Moçambique and Ibo during the latter half of the eighteenth century. Then came the awakening of a new spirit of enterprise through the news that the English had seized

A day of
better
things.

the Cape of Good Hope (to which I have already alluded); and Dr. Lacerda, the Governor of Tete, made a remarkable journey northwards to the "country of Cazembe" (Vol. II., p. 164), up the Luangwa valley to the vicinity of Lake Mocro. Other journeys of Portuguese adventurers followed, which proved that it was not as difficult as had been supposed to travel from Angola to the Zambezi.



RESIDENCE OF PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR AT MPATSA'S, SHIRE RIVER.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Fred Moir.)

of this Zambezian civilisation: the uprising of an African power—under a chief called "Mwene-mutapa" *—which extended its conquests from north of the Zambezi to near Delagoa Bay and threatened the communications between the Portuguese stations,† and the expulsion of the Jesuits in the middle of the eighteenth century from all the Portuguese dominions, including Zambezia.

After this shrinkage on the part of Portuguese enterprise there was little done on the coast or in the Zambezi Valley beyond the purchase and exportation of slaves; and, as

* *Mwene* means "lord"—Lord of *Mutapa*, probably. The Portuguese corrupted this into "*Monomotapa*."

† The Portuguese, it is true, claim to have made a treaty with the "Emperor of Monomotapa," by which he placed his vast territories under vassalage to the King of Portugal; but they paid him and his descendants tribute all the same.

The fame of Livingstone put these lesser lights in the shade. Livingstone not only travelled from the Zambezi to Angola and the Atlantic, and back again from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, down the course of the Zambezi, but was able to map his journey with precision and to give an account of the countries he had passed through, which, in the fulness and accuracy of its information, is one of the greatest works of travel ever written.

Thenceforth the attention of England became riveted on Portuguese East Africa, with results, I honestly believe, as beneficial to Portugal as to Britain, since not only has a very large dominion been handed over to the Portuguese in East Africa with the weighty sanction of Great Britain, but British capital is pouring into these provinces and

British energy is stirring up the Portuguese colonists to turn the resources of their country into wealth.

Portuguese East Africa of to-day* is called the "State of East Africa" (*Estada d'Africa Oriental*), and is divided into the province of Moçambique and the province of Lourenço Marquez (Delagoa Bay)—that is to say, roughly speaking, the territories north of the Zambezi and the territories south of that river, with a governor over each province, and a High Commissioner exercising supreme authority over both governors and over all Portuguese East Africa. The chief towns are Lourenço Marquez

The geography and resources of Portuguese East Africa.

7,000, Inhambane with about 6,000, and Beira Tete, Sena, Parapat (Angoche), and Ibo with about 3,000 people each. Other towns or settlements worthy of notice for their position and future importance are Chinde, at the mouth of the only navigable outlet of the Zambezi; Mopea, at the head of the Kwakwa navigation (p. 29), five miles from the Zambezi; Zumbo, a place of great historical interest on the Middle Zambezi, the farthest outpost of the Portuguese in East Central Africa; Mujinkwale, a port lying to the south of Moçambique; and Tungi,† a recent station founded near the mouth of the Ruvuma.

The annual trade of "the State of East



BOAT ON THE KWAKWA
(From a Photograph by Mr. Fred Moir.)

(Delagoa Bay) with a population of about 8,000,‡ Moçambique and Quelimane with

Africa" probably does not exceed at present £635,000; but the development of the country

* This description refers to the period subsequent to 1893.

† Of whom about 850 are Portuguese (including garrison), 300 to 400 British, 300 Chinese, 100 Dutch, 30 United States Americans, 5,000 native negroes, and the remainder Germans, French, Swiss, Norwegians.

Greeks, Italians, Poles, and Malays—57 distinct nationalities being represented.

‡ Tungi Bay, about twenty miles south of the Ruvuma estuary, was, until recently, the northern limit of the Portuguese dominions in that direction. The mouth of

is likely now to proceed at such a rapid rate that I hesitate to write down these figures, which, though true from the beginning of 1893, may, perhaps, be increased by a third or a half more at the end of the year. The chief articles of export are ivory, oil-seeds, copra (dried cocoanut), ground nuts, ebony, rubber, and gold.

Looking at Portuguese East Africa on the map, one sees at a glance that it is divided into three very distinct portions: the large territory stretching between the Moçambique coast and Lake Nyasa, the Zambezi valley, and the southern district between the Zambezi mouths and Delagoa Bay.

The first of these divisions, which we will call the Moçambique district, is inhabited mainly by two large and important tribes—the A-Makua and the Wa-Yao—the former dwelling nearer the coast, and the latter stretching towards Lake Nyasa. All the native tribes of Portuguese East Africa, it may be premised, belong, without exception, to the Bantu section of the negro race. The Makua, however, have evidently occupied for several hundred years their present habitat, and have been relatively isolated. They have, therefore, developed a very peculiar form of the Bantu language, which, nevertheless, despite its marked difference of vocabulary, shows many signs of affinity with the Tshi-Yao spoken to the east and north-east of the Makua countries. In the little island of Ibo or, as it is locally called, Wibu, there is an interesting and peculiar dialect spoken closely allied to Ki-Swahili; and in the angle of country on both sides of the Ruvuma estuary the language is Ki-Makonde and quite distinct from Makua. The Makonde tongue is one of the most archaic of the Bantu languages and is probably the modern representative of the parent form of Ki-Swahili.

The Makua peoples occupy a very large

the Ruvuma and the Tungi territory south of it were formerly in the possession of the Sultan of Zanzibar, but were forcibly seized by Portugal in 1888.

extent of country—about two-thirds of the Moçambique district. They are divided into several tribes or septs, often mutually hostile, are warlike, and troublesome to the Portuguese, and averse from the exploration of their country. They usually mark their foreheads and cheeks with the most hideous blue weals or scars, caused, I believe, by rubbing gunpowder into scarified wounds. They mostly practise circumcision, though, except on the coast, they are uninfluenced by Mohammedanism, and bestow what small feeling of worship their gross natures contain on the full moon. When the moon is full they are given to dances and lugubrious howlings. These celebrations are forbidden by the Portuguese authorities at Moçambique, and the present writer has frequently had his Makua servants imprisoned and punished by the local authorities because on full-moon nights the temptation to go down on the beach and howl and dance overbore the fear of a night in jail and a whipping in the morning.

Though I am told that in their own homes in the interior the Makua are a quarrelsome, thievish, disagreeable folk (and it is certain that their bad reputation has been one of the causes why the interior of Moçambique is so little known), yet, removed to the coast or taken away altogether to other parts of Africa, the Makua prove industrious porters and brave soldiers. There are a large number of them working in British Central Africa in the service of the Government. They usually engage for two years, take a holiday to the coast and spend their earnings, and then quietly return to their work.

The Wa-Yao do not, properly speaking, reach to the very shores of Lake Nyasa, except as rulers and traders. The indigenous population of the Portuguese coast of Nyasa belongs to the Nyanja or Mañanja race, which inhabits the shores of the lake on both sides of its southern half, and stretches thence to the Lower Shire and Zambezi. The Wa-Yao were driven from their homes, somewhere in the Ruvuma

The native
races:
Makua.

The Wa-Yao.

Valley, by the invasion of the Magwangwara* in the middle of this century. They fled southwards, and in time, from becoming fugitives themselves, assumed the rights of conquerors, as they found the feeble and timid Mañanja peoples could offer no resistance. In this way a dozen or so Yao "kingdoms" were formed on the south-east coast of Lake Nyasa, along the Upper Shire, and in the Shire highlands (p. 32).

The Yao, before being turned out of the Ruvuma Valley, had been strongly impregnated with Mohammedanism, and had been in close contact with the Arab and Swahili slave-traders from the coast. He, therefore, when once firmly seated in his new settlements, commenced to enslave and sell the Mañanja peoples, and a brisk trade in slaves sprang up between the Wa-Yao on Lake Nyasa and the Upper Shire and the Portuguese towns on the east coast, which still lasts, to a certain extent, though the Portuguese of late years have done their best to stop it. The receivers of the slaves, it must be noted, are mainly British Indians (Banians = "merchants"), who are settled in large numbers—perhaps 3,000—along the coast of the Mozambique province (p. 11).

The Wa-Yao are a rather well-developed race in physique and intelligence. The men are strongly-built and well-proportioned, and the women are not absolutely repulsive, as are the females of the Makua and the Mañanja. The Yao woman—copying from the Swahili lady, and she, again, from Indian women—does not further disfigure herself than to insert a small silver button or stud into one wing of the nose. She does not cover her face, breast, and back with huge blue weals or cicatrices, as does the Makua

* The Magwangwara were a section of the invading Zulus who, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, fled northwards from Zululand, owing to intestine quarrels, and, crossing the Zambezi, conquered the people of the high tablelands between Lake Nyasa and the River Luangwa. One branch of these Zulus (the main stem were known as "Angoni" or "Maviti") crossed the northern end of Lake Nyasa and invaded the countries in the Ruvuma Valley, where they remain to this day, and are known as the Magwangwara.

woman. Nor does she wear the atrociously ugly "pelele" or lip-ring of the Mañanja.†

But the Wa-Yao are a lazy, conceited race, trying to get all their agriculture done by Mañanja slaves, and only caring themselves for fighting, slave-kidnapping, trading between the interior and the coast, and hunting the less dangerous wild beasts.

Up the Zambezi, beyond Tete, the natives are mainly allied to the Mañanja stock. South of the Zambezi, especially of the lower portion of the river, an approach begins to be seen towards the Zulu‡ in race and language. The inhabitants of Inhambane and of the Delagoa Bay district may be termed "semi-Zulus" in language, manners, customs, and racial type. The Inhambane people are becoming a great factor of utility in South Africa. They are strong, good-tempered, docile, and industrious, and are the chief source from which the labour of the diamond mines is drawn.

Inland from Inhambane is the Gaza country, in which people of the "semi-Zulu" type are ruled over by a sprinkling of real Zulus under the chief Gungunyama. Gaza is one of those Zulu kingdoms founded during the early part of this century, when a complicated series of civil wars and race movements and exoduses sent the Bantu peoples of southern Africa surging back on those tropical regions to the north from which their ancestors had wandered down many centuries before. At this time the Zulu kingdoms of the Ainandebele (Matabeli) and of Gaza were formed; the Zulu raids across the Zambezi took place;§

† A small hollow disc of wood, tin, silver, or bone pushed into a hole pierced through the upper lip. This disc is gradually increased in size as the hole widens, and in time the upper lip is stiffened and thrust forward like the bill of a duck.

‡ I mean the term "Zulu" to be taken generically and to include the "Kaffirs" as well, but not the Basuto or Bechuana (Betshuana) people. There are two main stocks of Bantu race and language in South Africa—the Zulu-Kaffir and the Basuto-Bechuana. I avoid using the term "Kafir"—that is, "Unbeliever"—as it is simply a cant term derived from the Arabic.

§ Extending as far north as the eastern shore of Tanganyika.

and some Basuto (Bechuana) people* conquered the valley of the Upper Zambezi and laid the foundations of the modern Barotse kingdom (Vol. II., pp. 200, 204-5, 208-9, and elsewhere).

In the valley of the Zambezi, especially between Tete and Sena—also, to a lesser

and the habit of wearing European costumes.

These people have long been a curse to the Zambezi countries and a serious obstacle to the extension of settled, definite rule on the part of Portugal. In bygone centuries, to encourage immigration and settlement in



WA-YAO HUNTERS.

(From a Photograph by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.)

extent, between Tete and Zumbo—are a separate caste of people (the black Portuguese†), the offspring originally of Portuguese mothers, but who in latter days, by constant interbreeding with the local races, have become, to all intents and purposes, negroes with longer hair,‡ Portuguese names,

The "black" Portuguese.

* Known afterwards as the "Makololo" (Vol. II., p. 242).
† Called by the natives A-Zungu, or "white-men"—in remembrance, no doubt, of their progenitors.

‡ Together with the Portuguese name—usually a very high-sounding one—these half-castes generally

these regions, the Portuguese Government would adopt as its wards the daughters of chiefs whom it had dispossessed and make them great heiresses in land. Then any Portuguese who chose to marry these ladies of colour entered into the possession of their vast estates and many slaves; and, as not a few enterprising soldiers of fortune established themselves thus in Zambezia, so there

own a native appellation that is often more descriptive and to the point than the string of Portuguese patronymies by which they call themselves. Thus, a man may style himself "Vasco da Gama d'Albuquerque de Romão," and yet be known everywhere as "Tiger-cat."

sprang up this aristocracy of half-castes, who have proved themselves capable of more deliberate wickedness than could be laid to the charge of either their black or their white forefathers. For the greater part of this century the Portuguese Government has been fighting on the Zambezi with "Matakenya," "Bonga," "João Makanga," and other robbers, slave-raiders, and murderers who are the unfortunate results of its mistaken policy of mixing the two races in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (p. 11).

Another system that has worked very badly in the interests both of the Portuguese Government

and the natives is that of "Prazo"-holders.

dividing much of the country into "prazos"* or Crown estates, which were leased or farmed out to Portuguese, who agreed to pay a yearly sum as taxes for the natives, and who in return obtained a kind of monopoly over the trade of the district as well as the right to recoup themselves for their expenditure by exacting taxes from the natives on their "prazos." in money, produce, or labour. This method of collecting revenue has proved very unsatisfactory. The Portuguese Government does not get anything like the full value of the taxes levied, and, at the same time, the natives often resent becoming the mere chattels of the "prazo"-holder. For some years past there has been a strong movement in Portugal in favour of abolishing the "prazos," but vested interests have hitherto proved too strong.

Seen at its best, however, the settlement of a Portuguese colonist in East Africa† is not

* *Prazo* is an old Portuguese word, meaning a term for which a property is held; a lease; a period of time allowed for the accomplishment of some act.

† Perhaps I should say that I am aware, while writing this, that what I am describing applies to

without its pleasing features. The house will be well-built, with a roof of red tiles or very neat thatch, and whitewashed inside and out, so that it

The Portuguese colonists.



FALLS OF KETANE, BASUTOLAND.

(From a Photograph taken for the Paris Society for Evangelical Missions.)

looks clean and cool. The furniture is solid and valuable; much of it is of Indian manufacture, and has been brought from Goa. There is nearly always a piano, some pieces

scarcely more than thirty places in Portuguese East Africa. There are about that number of real white Portuguese settlers, as apart from the town population of officials and merchants, or the thoroughly Africanised black Portuguese.

of glass and china on the side-board, and a few not very tasteful German lithographs in gaudy frames hang on the walls. The beds, also, are generally to be commended for their snowy linen and comfortable mattresses.

The mistress of the house is in most cases either a mulatto woman or a negress.* If the latter, she is almost sure to be a worthy, hard-working soul, and a good, affectionate wife to her Portuguese husband. But if she be a mulatto, then, with equal certainty, she is lazy, vicious, and noisy; and the work of the house will be carried out under her screaming directions by a number of little negrolets of both sexes, who are, perhaps, the children of the semi-slaves residing on her own property. These Portugo-African households are wonderfully prolific; and, besides the negro servant-children above alluded to, there are sure to be several "bonds of union" between the white husband and the coloured wife in the shape of offspring with large, solemn, lustreless black eyes, yellow or *mât*-white skins, and a great bush of silky, kinky, black hair, which sets off their ivory-coloured faces very effectively. These half-caste children are picturesque and "paintable" when young; but when grown up, what lamentable specimens of humanity! Young men with hollow chests, thin legs and arms tightly cased in close-fitting brown "holland" or linen garments that unbecomingly

display the form of the limbs, with the eternal cigarette, half-smoked, between their bony *effilé* fingers, prominent cheek-bones, fierce coarse black moustaches, a propensity to spit, to wear their shirts unchanged for weeks, and to hobble about in boots which are too small and pointed—this is young Moçambique. From this class the bulk of the *petits employés* of Portuguese East Africa are chosen in the Customs service and in the judicature. It is scarcely to be

wondered at, then, that when some brawny, red-faced, strong-limbed British or Colonial miner comes in contact with these mulatto Portuguese, he is apt to show scant respect for the just rights of a country thus represented in its officialdom; and they (the mulatto officials) are inclined to be unusually obstructive and dilatory in order to show their own importance (p. 13). As to the young women sprung from these mixed unions, I have already alluded to them as lazy, vicious, and noisy; I need only add that they are equally tasteless with their brothers in the selection of clothing. They wear bright and crude colours, and on Sundays and feast-days parade in lamentable travesties of the Parisian fashions of three years back; while on week-days they lollop about their houses and yards stockingless, in slippers down at the heel, and loose garments thrown on anyhow.

Yet one thing must be said in praise of the Portuguese colonist, and that is, he never discards, as do most Englishmen and Scotsmen,† the children he has begotten by a coloured wife. He does his very best, stinting himself in luxuries, and works double, to provide these children with the best education he can. I have known several cases of Portuguese earning scarcely more than £100 a year laying by money to send one or more mulatto sons home to Lisbon to be well educated there, so that they might be fitted to occupy posts in the administration of the colony afterwards. The daughters also are dowered, and an attempt is made to secure for them white husbands.

I have been struck with another marked feature in the East African Portuguese of all colours,‡ and that is the utter absence of

† Mrs. Grundy is the last witch in England whom we ought to burn. Many an Englishman and Scotsman whom I have known in West and South Africa would be willing enough to "recognise and do something for" his half-caste children were it not for fear of the scandal it would cause at home. It is different with other and less hypocritical nations. They do not set up for themselves a high standard of purity and then sin against it in secret and hide the fruits of their sin.

‡ The Black Portuguese, however, have reverted to not a few negro superstitions; but the negroes themselves of

* Scarcely any Portuguese but the officials have their wives with them from Europe, the fact being that the majority of the Portuguese "colonists" are people who have originally been deported from Portugal for political crimes (p. 13).

religion (p. 9). They are absolute agnostics—denying nothing, believing nothing, inquiring as to nothing—simply not caring to bother themselves about anything but their material

A race
without
religion.

wants. In the cathedral at Moçambique and in the fine church at Quelimane (p. 25) one very rarely observes any worshipper attending the services except an official or the European wife of an official. Nor in the typical colonist's house I have been describing will there be seen any religious symbol, picture, or statue. Sunday is kept as a holiday, as are some other of the more prominent feast-days of the Christian year; while in Moçambique and Quelimane the silly and irreverent custom is observed of transforming Good Friday into a kind of Guy Fawkes day, with rude effigies of Judas Iscariot carried about as guys, to be burnt afterwards at bonfires or hanged from the yard-arms of ships. Occasionally the guy is fashioned in the similitude of some unpopular governor, judge, Customs director, or "Capitão Mór."* The real meaning of the observance of Good Friday as a religious anniversary seems to have become as completely forgotten by the African Portuguese as it was among the "masses" in England and Scotland two generations back.

I have intimated that the African Portuguese is kind to his children. Two other good traits in his character† are his considerate treatment of animals and his desire to possess and maintain a well-ordered flower-garden. No Portuguese house in East Africa will be without its pets: and, indeed, almost too much licence is allowed to the pigeons, fowls, cats, dogs, pigs, and monkeys of the establishment, whom nobody ventures to rebuke or repel, and who therefore make themselves thoroughly at home in the human dwellings. At one

these parts are practically without a religion, as are most of the Bantu peoples.

* The *Capitão Mór* ("Mór" is a contraction of Maor, "major") is the chief of a sub-district—a sort of Lieutenant-Governor or Commissioner.

† Which are characteristic of the Portuguese everywhere.

establishment on the Zambezi which I visited some four years ago I was very hospitably entertained by the Portuguese host, but the domestic animals were almost too much for me. The meals would be well cooked and nicely served; but the dishes, as is the Portuguese custom, were all placed on the table at once, and we had barely sat down to our meal when in flew the pigeons from the verandah and settled on the boiled beans, a fine cat leapt on the table with glaring eyes and carried off my mutton-chop, a sow snuffed menacingly around my ankles till I hastily threw her a tribute from my replenished plate, and the negro servants, as they passed in and out with new dishes or dirty plates, were literally attacked by fowls and mongrel dogs and two half-grown baboons (p. 38), and much of our dinner would thus disappear. Meantime, my host was as indulgently indifferent to this licence as was Mrs. Jellyby, who, when most absorbed in Africa, paid little more heed to the woes or joys of her children than to smile and shake her head and say, "Naughty Peepy!" and "Foolish Caddy!" So this easy-going Portuguese would merely remark "*Coitadinha!*"‡ when a dish was dragged off the table and broken by the female baboon, or the sow bit the baboon just as it was going to revel in stewed pigeons.

However, I was partly compensated for these uncomfortable meals by the sight of the tame antelopes in the garden and the handsome spurwinged geese (*Plectropterus*) and yellow Egyptian geese§ in the poultry-yard. The Portuguese on the Zambezi have made praiseworthy attempts to domesticate these two fine species of waterfowl, and seem to have succeeded in the case of the spurwinged goose, which is now very commonly met with in their poultry-yards.

The rainfall in Portuguese East Africa is pretty regular and abundant everywhere,

‡ "Poor little thing!"

§ *Chenuloper*. The Egyptian goose (locally called "Zambezi duck") is an interesting bird, and an intermediate type between the geese and the ducks. It bears a great resemblance to the sheldrake.

except in the Gaza country behind Inhambane. It averages about 50 inches annually throughout the whole colony; this average, however, is a little higher on the Lower Zambezi, on the coast of Moçambique, and on the shores of Lake Nyasa. In consequence of this fairly high rainfall, and the fact that it is not exclusively confined to two or three months in the year,* the principal rivers and streams throughout

Rainfall and
vegetation.

African teak, and other valuable woods, besides a species of fig and two species of the *Landolphia* creeper, which yield excellent rubber.

Cattle will thrive in parts where there is no tsetse fly, but they are not abundantly met with. The tsetse fly is scarcely a serious obstacle to the opening up of the country, because it *always* shuns human settlements; therefore, as the land becomes inhabited so

The tsetse
fly and
other
plagues.



AT M'PATSA'S, SHIRE RIVER: PORTUGUESE GUN-BOAT IN MID-STREAM.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Fred Moir.)

nearly the whole of Portuguese East Africa (Gazaland excepted) are perennial and do not dry up in the dry season. Vegetation is therefore everywhere abundant, though not, of course, West African in its luxuriance. In special localities, sheltered from the ravages of bush fires and supplied with moisture by running streams or underground springs, the forests are magnificent and contain ebony,

* At Moçambique, and the Zambezi Delta, and the highlands bordering the River Shiré and Lake Nyasa, I have observed that there is no month in the year in which rain has not been known to fall, though it may only be in slight showers.

the tsetse disappears, and so in time cattle can be successfully kept. Suppress the slave trade (which still ravages the inner parts of Portuguese East Africa, except in the south) and the native population will increase and multiply, the tsetse fly will disappear, and the huge herds of cattle feeding on the fine natural pastures will be a source of wealth to the country and an added means of developing its resources. For horses the solution of the difficulty is not so easy. It is by no means the tsetse fly that is the great obstacle to their introduction; there are extensive districts in the interior and on the coast where

the tsetse fly is unknown but where horse-sickness prevails and kills quickly all the horses that are introduced. This malady is as fatal and as difficult of explanation as the "black-water fever" (bilious remittent), which is the one serious, dangerous malady in

valley of the Luangwa River. The rhinoceros is fairly abundant in the Lower Shire district, in the country behind Quelimane, and in the lands south of the Zambezi the lion and leopard are inconveniently common. Nearly every African antelope can be met with, except the various species of oryx.* The ostrich is found in Gazaland, but nowhere else in the Portuguese African dominions. The Ruvuma River is the limit to the north beyond which the East African ostrich does not venture southwards. In the hilly regions there



MOUTH OF THE RUVUMA.

tropical Africa and which kills about 60 per cent. of the persons attacked. It is apparently a non-contagious form of yellow fever, and is really the parent of that disease, which was developed in its virulent and contagious form on board the densely packed slave-ships and introduced thus from Africa into America.

Portuguese East Africa, not having as yet become fashionable as a hunting-ground for British sportsmen, still possesses a rich and varied mammalian fauna. The elephant is found nearly everywhere, even coming down to the plantations opposite the island of Moçambique. The giraffe may still be met with in Gazaland, and in the lower



ON THE BANKS OF THE RUVUMA.

(From Photographs taken for the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.)

is the remarkable elephant-shrew—the largest shrew-mouse known—about the size of a very large rat, with a long proboscis. In the rivers there are otters, hippopotami, and (of course) crocodiles.

About the mineral wealth there is not

* One of these, the gemsbok, may be found in Gazaland.

overmuch known of a definite character. Gold in small quantities is washed in the valley of the Zambezi, and is present, more or less, in the detritus brought down from the mountains and plateaux by the other big rivers of South-East Africa. Silver used to be mined by the Portuguese in the districts north of the Zambezi. Excellent coal is found near Tete and in the valley of the Rifubwe affluent of the Zambezi. Coal also crops out near the Lower Shire, and on Lake Nyasa and in the Ruwuna Valley (Vol. III., p. 285). The soil is impregnated with iron throughout almost all this part of Africa, and a friable marble is also found in the hill countries which will burn into tolerable lime. There are pearl-fisheries off the Bazaruto Islands, on the south-east coast, from which small black and pink pearls are obtained.

The climate of Portuguese East Africa may be described, in a general way, as "not very unhealthy." The Portuguese seem to stand

it much better than the English, which is one among several reasons why Portugal should make some serious effort to develop and colonise what is, as Nature made it, one of the richest sections of tropical Africa. But she will never effect this by the mere issuing of decrees and "portarias," with Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, and sub-clauses A, B, C, D, and E; nor by the shipping-out of convicts diseased in body and mind, or Oporto "rioters," or idle, noisy, thriftless political agitators.

She should send, or induce to come, such admirable colonists from her country as go to British Guiana, Brazil, and Honolulu: patient cultivators, skilled mechanics, thrifty shopkeepers—cheerful, frugal, sober, industrious souls. Portugal, *in* Portugal, possesses one of the finest peasantries in the world; but from carelessness and ignorance she allows its overplus to enrich other nations' colonies or possessions instead of her own.



BABOONS IN A ZAMBEZI SUGAR-FIELD.

CHAPTER III.

COLONISATION : THE FRENCH IN WEST AFRICA.

Difficulties of African Colonisation—Colonisation *à la mode*—Empire-making and Ethics—Greek and Roman Colonists—Spain and Portugal—France as a Colonising Power—Compared with Great Britain—Causes of French Failure—Senegal—Its History and Expansion—Faidherbe's Work—Condition of the Colony—The Gaboon—Its Tribes and its Characters—Libreville—King Denis and his Privileges—A French Chevalier and a Papal Fetishman—Paul du Chaillu—His History—Mouni River—The Cannibal Fans—Sierra del Crystal—Source of the Ogowé—Rembo and Ovenga—Olenda—Ngounie—Nagodji—The Gorilla—A London Lion—The Gorilla Controversy—Facts of the Case—Du Chaillu's Second Expedition—Loss of Outfit—From the Fernand-Vaz Inland—Obindji—Olenda and Ashiraland—Bakalai and Kamba and Avia Tribes—Samba Nagoshi—Falls of the Rembo—Back to Olenda—Outbreak of Small-pox—Trouble—Apono—Ishogo and Ashango Territories—Pigmies—News of a Great River—A Fatal Accident and a Hurried Retreat—French Guinea.

WE have dwelt longer on the story of the Portuguese settlements in Africa than perhaps the success of these colonies deserves; but their struggles illustrate very aptly the difficulties which all such attempts to establish the White Man in the Black Man's land always meet. Perhaps, also, they indicate the blunders by the avoidance of which other nations, though later in entering the field, have shot far ahead of the Lusitanian pioneers.

First, the Europeans are welcomed by the natives, who see in the strangers the means of obtaining goods new to them. By-and-by, as they play the master a little too pronouncedly and begin to spread into the interior, the tribesman's jealousy is roused. He sees his game killed off, his hopes of gain disappointed, and, it is possible, he is himself compelled to labour for the strangers, while pilferings on his part are punished according to a code of laws of which he knows nothing. Then comes war, accompanied by all the atrocities invariably attendant on a campaign in which a few civilised men, with superior weapons, fight a rabble of savages

Colonisation
à la mode. provided with arms no more precise than spears are in practised hands. Little by little, Black retreats before White, or begins to recognise the inevitable. In the settled land he learns that he is no match for the Europeans who come from a far-away country which is inexhaustible in men and in muskets; so that it is idle to try and kill them all off, as was at first

attempted, under the belief that the newcomers were only a tribe with pale faces and big canoes.

After confidence is gained, the settlers push farther and farther into the interior, with a repetition of the early story. It is once more necessary to teach the untutored folk of the back country the lesson learned so hardly by their relatives in the old colony. Even after the frontier is "fixed," intermittent fighting still goes on; for there is always a vast, though ever-diminishing, "hinterland," as the Germans call it, though the word has now become incorporated into the diplomatic vocabulary. Out of this back country the untamed barbarians leak into the colony. Unfamiliar with the niceties of boundary-lines, they cross the frontier intent on plundering, punishing, or enslaving a tribe which of old a particular chief regarded as his own, unaware that in the interval a delimitation commission has drawn a division on paper between him and them. Or, they may fail to understand the law which inculcates the virtue of going without food while their neighbours are fat in flocks and herds. The result is, that the swart king who knows no barrier except a mud wall or a hedge of thorns has to be taught better. Or, the civilised hunter and prospector discovers gold or diamonds in the "hinterland," obtains a "concession," and perhaps is killed.

The end is the same. The colony must protect its subjects by enlarging its limits.

Hence in this way, almost without the European settlers in savage Africa having any choice in the matter—more often because the range of men intent on fortune-seeking must expand,—tribe after tribe is “eaten up,” and kingdom after kingdom absorbed, or their rulers are reduced to the condition of pensioners. Morality may look askance at this kind of proceeding, and describe the necessity of the colonists by an uglier name than opportunism. But, if it is difficult to justify the stronger seizing the land of the weaker by any code of ethics loftier than that of the

hungry man, or the needy one, empire-making cannot often be based on any more abstractly honest plea than that by which the division of the latest annexations to the British Empire is defended by the politician principally concerned. “We will, however, deal with your land grants without loss of time,” Mr. Rhodes tells the

the Iberians, and the Angles on the Celts; which Cæsar impressed on his Legions and William of Normandy carried out eleven centuries later. It guided Cortes in Mexico as it actuated Pizarro in Peru, and the Puritans in New England had no difficulty in reconciling it with the Eighth and other Commandments. And it was the right of the pelf being the property of the plunderers which, from the day the Romans colonised North Africa, has been the principle—or the lack of principle—underlying all annexations on that continent. It has not been defended; a defence has not been considered necessary. But, while no nation has been superior to any other in virtue, the mother countries have acted differently to their colonists. Those under Rome were citizens and the country they occupied an integral portion of the State. The privilege of settling in a colony

The mother country and the colonists.



DAKAR, THE PORT OF ST. LOUIS, SENEGAL.

(From a Photograph taken for the Paris Society for Evangelical Missions.)

Matabeleland volunteers: “it is your right; for you have conquered the country.” It was this doctrine which the Celts practised on

was granted either as a mark of favour or as a prudent concession to a discontented individual. But, unlike the Greek colonist, the



ST. LOUIS, SHOWING THE FAIDHERBE BRIDGE CROSSING
THE SENEGAL RIVER.

From Photographs taken for the Paris Society for Evangelical Missions.)



ARAB TRADER.

Roman who made his home, say, in Africa, never lost one iota of his privileges or of his responsibilities as a citizen. In most cases, indeed, his farm was regarded as a "propugnaculum" and a feeder of the mother country, and its holder a military settler who was bound to guard the province which he had helped to conquer, and a portion of which, like the Matabeleland and New Zealand colonists, he was granted as payment for his services.

When Portugal and Spain began colonisation after the long interval that had elapsed since the ruin of the Roman provinces in what is now known as the old Barbary States, they adopted in a rough way the practice of their predecessors. Land was granted for military services. But the colonists' political privileges were jealously curtailed, and to this day they have almost nothing in the shape of self-government. Of late, more consideration has been shown to the rights of the colonists, as distinguished from those of their fellow-countrymen at home, by a partial relaxing of the leading-strings in which they are held.

But for more than three centuries the colonies were looked upon as existing, not necessarily for the benefit of the colonists, but for that of the land which they had left. Any enterprise, no matter how beneficial to the former, was either discouraged or forbidden if it affected the prosperity of the latter. The consequence we know. In America the colonies, as soon as they saw their opportunity and felt their strength, broke loose from the land which had proved so hard a step-mother to them. In Africa they never had that power, though they might have felt the inclination. For, owing to the causes already mentioned, neither Spaniard nor Portuguese has been so prosperous in that continent as to remain anything but a burden on the home exchequer.

France has acted in a different fashion. She, also, has looked on her colonies as nurslings requiring continual coddling and

subsidies; although latterly they have been accepted as integral parts of the State and, as such, sending members to the national Legislature. But responsible government is a stage of freedom which France has never yet been able to grasp as either good for the colonists or prudent for the State—Kingdom, Empire, or Republic. Yet, though France has not been successful as a colonising Power, this has been mainly due to the fact that, after the loss of Canada, she failed to obtain any region quite fitted for the settlement of the white race. A craze for completeness of theory and a lack of continuity in the national form of government have always interfered with her steady colonisation. Something is also due to the circumstance that France does not increase in population. She does not require to overflow into new lands, as Britain must; and when she does—either because the French colonies are for the most part tropical, and therefore not well suited to the European, or because Paris and the life of a *petit-rentier* is a Frenchman's ideal—the colonist seldom stays longer than suffices to accumulate enough to enable him to enjoy that *café* life after which his heart hungers in what he regards as exile. Unlike the Briton, he does not take his sky with him; he leaves it behind and longs to return to it. That interest in local politics which is never lacking to a British colonist plays a very small part in a Frenchman's life out of France; and the want of it makes him yearn more and more for the land which he has left. Nor is the faculty for self-government, which is so marked a characteristic of the Englishman, natural to the Frenchman. He has so long looked to the State that the State seems afraid to trust him with the control of his own affairs. The mother country is being continually called upon; and nobly does she respond.

In Algeria, it is said, over £180,000,000 of public money has been sunk, and every one of the smaller African colonies has been pampered proportionally. "Colonies and ships" were prescribed by Napoleon as the promoters

of national prosperity. And, whether they have proved so in the case of France or not, on both treasure has been lavishly expended. Roads, railways, public buildings, forts, harbours—every description of institution—have sprung up in the African dependencies with a luxuriance stimulated by the necessity of seeking compensation abroad for the losses of 1870 at home. The substantiality and costliness of these works seem altogether out of proportion to the needs and resources of the African colonies, and not likely ever to "pay," in the sense that the Stock Exchange interprets that word. In the British possessions the public works are less striking, and, to a visitor coming from across the French border, appear rather shabby in comparison with those farther north. But he soon discovers that, after all, the British colonial town is more substantial than its rival. For its fine buildings—if not so fine as its rival's—are built with the colonists' money; its railways are not public but private property, or, if owned by the Government, the colony has provided the means to build them; and its improvements are generally the work of people who have made their fortunes in the colony and intend to spend them there.

In a French, a Spanish, and a Portuguese settlement, the Government seems the fountain-head of all enterprise. It builds or it guarantees the public works, puts steamers on the rivers, and floods the country with officials who strangle the colonists with red tape. "L'Administration" is all in all—"l'individuel" nobody. But in a French colony—for all the others may be left out of the reckoning—there is one marked feature which distinguishes it from a British one. The British official is not encouraged to create "interests" outside the colonial bounds. Trade, according to our practice, may be followed by the flag to protect it. But the Frenchman seems ever on the look-out for an opportunity to assert his country's dignity in the "hinterland" by seeking a quarrel with a native chief, discovering a missionary—a layman by preference, but a priest will do—who is

wronged, or a trader who is robbed. Then the flag advances, under the belief that business will follow. In short, political bones of contention with swarthy magnates are constantly being found by touchy travellers beyond the nominal frontier, and by officials who, instead of being snubbed by ministers groaning under the anxiety of governing an already extensive empire, are decorated by the Quai d'Orsay and hailed as patriots by the Boulevard Chauvinists. The operation of these factors in the expansion of the French colonies in Africa will be seen farther on. They have always been more or less at work, though the many changes of Government in France have made the progress of colonisation rather irregular; and latterly the jealousy of Great Britain has acted as an additional stimulus to French expansion in North and West Africa.

In 1884—the year from which we date an entirely fresh departure in the history of Africa—the French flag flew over Algeria, the protectorate of Tunis, Senegal, the Rivières du Sud, the gradually annexed region of French Soudan, the Gaboon and the Guinea Coast, and Obock: not to take into account her settlements of Diego-Suarez, Nossi-Bé, and Ste. Marie in Madagascar, Mayotte, the Comoro Islands, and the island of Réunion. With these insular off-liers of Africa we need not concern ourselves. The possessions of France on the mainland are also, for the most part, of older date, and the first of these in chronological order is Senegal.

From Cape Blanco to Togoland, with the exception of the British colonies of Gambia, **Senegal** Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast, Portuguese Guinea, and the independent republic of Liberia, France claims the whole of the West African shore for so long a way inland that the Upper and Middle

Niger, including vast kingdoms or even “empires,” belong to her, or are in process of being absorbed. But in 1884 the French share of West Africa was, though vague enough, not quite so extensive. There were various detached settlements—survivals from the era of the trading companies and Fort days (Vol. I., pp. 35–78); but the only region at all worthy of being called a colony was Senegal. It is sometimes loosely known as Senegambia. Senegambia is, however, a vaster territory, comprising not only the region with which we have at present to do, but British and Portuguese countries and some native nations not yet formally under the “protection” of any European Power.

Like all the tropical colonies in Africa, Senegal went through the stages we have already so fully discussed. The Dieppe navigators, it is quite possible, may have sailed into the Senegal River as early as the year 1360; for it is certain that twenty years after this date they anticipated the Portuguese on the coast farther south.

We know that the Portuguese were established on its banks less than a century later; but the first time that we hear of French traders gaining a footing there was in the latter part of the sixteenth or the early part of the seventeenth century. Then followed that Company epoch which Africa had to undergo in its initiation to European rule, and which it has again so extensively reverted to as a compromise between colonisation under a national Government and the anarchy of a host of irresponsible traders. Few of these companies were long-lived. Between 1664 and 1758 the Senegal country had been tried, abandoned by or taken from under the control of, no less than seven corporations of this kind (Vol. I., pp. 132–140). Its history during



GENERAL FAIDHERBE.

(From a Photograph by Pierre Petit, Paris.)

that period had been chequered; for, the colonies having to bear their share of the brunt of the home country's differences with its neighbours, the Senegal traders, in the strict discharge of their duty, captured Rufisque, Portudal, Joal and Goree (Vol. I., p. 140)

British hands, the Treaty of Paris, which authorised a complete restoration, never—owing to the unsettled state of the relations of France with her old enemies—being completely carried out so far as Africa was concerned until the Congress of Vienna had sat and separated.

From that date the existence of Senegal as a colony in the proper acceptance of the word may be said **The colonial stage.** to begin. But up till

1854 the territory was little better than a sink for French money, and St. Louis a convenient town to which a politician under a cloud, or a general suspected of discontent, might be honourably exiled in the guise of Governor-General. Of the thirty-seven Proconsuls who succeeded each other in the course of exactly the same number of years, the most that can be said of them is that they came and went. Until General Faidherbe (p. 43) arrived, in the third year of the Second Empire, Senegal had not known a ruler comparable to André Brûe, who had from 1694 to 1724 been its autocratic satrap (Vol. I., pp. 140–160). Faidherbe was a man under a ban, and, though not quite deep enough in the black books of the adventurers who then had France by the throat, was sufficiently distrusted to make Senegal a safer land for the exercise of his energy than



GABOON NATIVE.

(From a Photograph by F. Roux.)

from the Dutch, acquired Portendic and Arguin by fairer means, and in 1758 lost the entire Senegal settlements to the English. By the Peace of 1783 all of the country not receded was again made over to its old masters, only once more to be seized during the wars of the First Empire. Actually from 1800 to 1817 Senegal was, more or less, in

any region nearer Paris. A man of great enterprise and intelligence, he immediately began to study the resources, position, and peoples of the colony. As the earliest results of this examination of the Senegal question, he curbed the power of the desert tribes, who had again and again made raids from the "hinterland" on the French

settlers and subjects until the exaction of the Trarzas, Braknas, and Duaish "kings" (Vol. I., p. 227) had become intolerable. Henceforth they agreed to keep to the north of the Senegal River. This was, however, only a beginning. By 1855 the Wuli country was annexed, and the fort of Medina (Vol. I., p. 184) erected in the Kasso country to stem the Moslem hordes, who, under Al-Hadj

eastly expeditions which they entailed, it is certain that the colony could not long have existed. For, apart from Omar's expedition, which threatened to sweep the country, Mohammed el Habeb fully intended to attack St. Louis. But one expedition into the back country entailed another. For, as rapidly as the colonial boundary was shifted, a fresh, a less cowed back country confronted the



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, LIBREVILLE, GABOON

(From a Photograph by F. Roux)

Omar, were threatening the colony with a holy war from the depths of its "hinterland."

After his repulse by Paul Holl, who held Medina against Omar's army of 20,000 men until they had to retreat before Faïdherbe's advance, half of Bambuk, Kasso, Bondu, Kamera, Guoy, Guidinakha, Danga, Futa-Toro, Dimar, and other districts, the names of which are familiar from the travels of Mungo Park and other early explorers, had to recognise the French flag. These annexations were absolutely necessary. Without the

advanced settlers and the frontier garrisons. Accordingly, Faïdherbe and his successors were by compulsion, or more frequently with great eagerness, kept busily annexing more and more of the "hinterlands" of Senegal.

N'Diambur, Sine, Salum, and Casamanee next called for absorption. Then Cayor was conquered, and on the arrival of Colonel Pinet-Laprade as Governor, the lustre of his predecessor was prevented from dimming the effulgence of the new satrap by the country between the Gambia and Rokelle—now known

as the Rivières du Sud—being accorded protection. Indeed, ever since the first annexation of Faidherbe, more absorptions of the same kind had gone on until, on the 10th of January, 1894, Colonel Bonnier (p. 46) marched, without permission, into Timbuctoo, and lost his life in marching out.

These continual advances, conquests, and protections compelled the Upper Senegal and the Upper and Middle Niger countries to be separated from Senegal under the name of the French Soudan. In like manner the Rivières du Sud were detached, and, by-and-by, with other scattered pieces of tropical territory,



COL. BONNIER.

(From a Photograph by G. Camus, Paris.)

created into the colony of Guinée Française. But this, like a good deal of other shuffling of Administrations and further annexation, was subsequent to the year 1884, and may be better considered when the events following that year come up for discussion, though before the date mentioned so huge an area as the confederation of Futa-Jallon and Buré had been compelled to recognise that protectorate which is simply annexation in a transition stage; while the building of a fort in 1883 at Bamaku (Vol. I, p. 311), on the Upper Niger, and the launching of steamers on that portion of the river, were notable steps in the extension of French influence.

But though the progress of Senegal, like the progress of every European colony in Africa, has been striking since 1884, its internal prospects were not neglected during the duller days prior to that famous year, nor while its bounds were being so rapidly extended. With the system and precision of the French, the country was divided into arrondissements, which elect a deputy to the Legislature in Paris and a Council of sixteen members, who meet in St. Louis (p. 41); but the power of this colonial Parliament is more nominal than real. Though the entire French population in the colony does not reach two thousand, the Home Government pours money into it. St. Louis is really a fine town for so remote a region, and between it and Dakar (p. 40), the only true port in all Senegal, a railroad (163 miles long) has been open since 1885, though it was begun several years before that date. The navigation of the Senegal (Vol. I, p. 157) is also being constantly improved, and railways are built, or in course of construction, around the rapids and other obstructions in its course.

Still, it was difficult to see in 1884, and is no more easy to ascertain yet, the value of this vast cantle of Africa to its liberal proprietors. Colonists do not come to it, or come in numbers so insignificant as to make the disproportion between them and the natives almost ludicrous. Its mineral resources are *nil*, and its exports of gum, ground nuts, india-rubber, wood, and hides not much more than half the value of the imports in the shape of foods, drinks—including Hamburg gin,—English calico, and American tobacco; while the mother country is spending every year upon this pet possession 6,000,000 francs, or something like twice the local revenue. Senegal is, in short, a suckling, which it is hoped may in time reward the costly pains bestowed upon its rearing. Meanwhile, it is an expensive luxury; and even as a basis for extending French influence to the interior and tapping the Upper Niger trade down its rivers, instead of down those under the British flag,



ENCAMPMENT OF BOATMEN IN THE GABOON COUNTRY.
(From a Photograph by F. Roux, 1, Rue Louverture, Paris.)

the value of the colony and its protectorates is still problematical.*

The other French settlements in West Africa are not even yet of much consequence, and in 1884 were still less important, though in the eyes of a people supremely ignorant of geography a vast area on paper is always more attractive than a smaller but more workable one effectively occupied. And, moreover, the many "kilomètres carrés" justify a corresponding expenditure of francs and that inordinate number of poorly paid officials which is foisted on almost every annexed and protected region under the French flag. It is certain that for many years very few people were much the richer for the Gaboon estuary which France took formal possession of in 1842, while twenty years later she took over that of the Ogowé. It was hot, unhealthy, and the home of the Mpongwe tribes, who certainly rank low in the Bantu scale (pp. 44, 49). Near the coast, where a score of rivers, or river-mouths, creep through the mangrove-lined oil-palm-covered delta, the atmosphere is a kind of pestilent vapour bath. On the north bank of the Gaboon, which is higher than its southern one, Libreville (p. 45), the Gaboon capital, is situated; and farther in the interior, where the country rises into the usual plateau (here about 2,000 feet in height), it is not quite so malarious. But the soil is everywhere extremely rich, and bears heavy crops of cotton, sugar-cane, fine timbers, dyewoods, gum, gutta-percha trees, palm-oil palms, sesame, and earth-nuts: while in the more rocky part of the country, malachite, brown hematite, and cinnabar have been found, but not in paying quantities. All

hard work, as elsewhere among the African tribes, is done by the women; but the men are keen traders, and go on bartering expeditions along the coast and up the rivers into the interior; and, now that the mischievous system of the coast tribes preventing the inland people from dealing with the whites except through them as middlemen has been put down, ivory, gold-dust, and other products are brought from the interior either to Libreville or to the stations or "factories" established for a long distance along the river banks. The traders are of all nations, though the majority claim French nationality, in spite of the extremely swarthy complexion of many of them pointing to a relationship rather nearer to the natives with whom they do business. White women are almost unknown; and, as is the case all along this coast, white children cannot be reared in the Gaboon. The word "colony" for such a collection of trading-posts is, therefore, a misuse of the term. Even sheep and goats, which are numerous in some of the open places a little way in the interior, do not prosper after their kind; for the latter are poor, scrawny brutes, and the former bear a thin crop of hair instead of wool.

The date of the foundation of the Gaboon "colony" is usually put at 1844; but there were French traders there, living by the chiefs' sufferance, long before that period, and it is believed that the Portuguese had settlements in all of the river-mouths at a very early date. The word Gaboon—as we write it, Gabon, according to the French orthography, Gabun, after the recent German form, which for some reason has been adopted in English official publications—is, indeed, derived from the Portuguese "Gabao" (a hooded cloak) from some fancied idea on the part of the first visitors that the estuary resembled that garment. But formal possession of the region was not taken until February, 1839, when King Denis (p. 48), who lived until 1876, entered into a treaty surrendering his royal prerogatives into the hands of Captain Bouët-Willaumez, the French

Its history.

* "Colonies Françaises: Notices illustrées publiées par ordre du Sous-Secrétaire d'États des Colonies sous la direction de M. Louis Henrique" (Vol. V.): Fallot: "Histoire de la Colonie Française du Sénégal" (1881); Ancelle: "Les explorations au Sénégal" (1887); "Annales Sénégalaises" (1885); Barthelémy: "Guide du voyageur en Séné-gambie" (1885), etc. In M. Cloze's "Bibliographie des ouvrages relatifs à la Sénégambie et au Soudan Occidental" (1891), eleven hundred and fifty-five separate works and papers on this region are enumerated, and even then the list is not exhausted.

agent. His sable Majesty was gratified with a pension, a gorgeous crown, the Cross of the Legion of Honour, and the privilege, which he valued most highly, of having a salute when his canoe approached a warship. It was also ordered that the negro ex-sovereign should be placed on the right of the admiral, or other officer, at any banquet given in honour of the head of the French Government. Attired in a gold-embroidered uniform and a general's hat, Le Roi Denis took care that these prerogatives were never permitted to fall into abeyance. Finally, when the Pope, in recognition of the services which this fetishist—and, when opportunity offered, slave-trader—had rendered to the Roman Catholic missionaries, sent him a decoration, nothing was lacking to the greatness of the old man as he sat in the circle of his ever-increasing number of wives. It was not, however, until 1844

that complete sovereignty was assumed over all the bays and islands in the estuary, and over the affluents of the Gaboon, and not until four years later that Libreville was founded for the reception of a cargo of slaves captured and set free by a French cruiser.*

However, until the great Congo territory was added to it, the Gaboon was never regarded as of much importance in French eyes. That event had, however, not taken place in 1884,

* Barret: "La Région Gabonaise" (1887); Delorme et Le Berre: "Dictionnaire Français-Pongoué" (1877); Gaffarel: "Les Colonies Françaises" (1885); Vignon: "Les Colonies Françaises" (1885), etc.

when the De Brazza exploration was still in progress (Vol. III., p. 291).

Indeed, except that the Gaboon was the base from which Paul du Chaillu (p. 50) had made his explorations into the back country, few people in England, and not many in France, had until then ever heard the name of this French colony. Du Chaillu's father was a trader on

Paul Belloni
du Chaillu.

the Gaboon River, and there his son is understood to have been born,† or, at least, to have been taken at an early age and educated in the Jesuit school, though before he became known young Du Chaillu visited and was naturalised in the United States. The explorations which brought him reputation were begun in 1850, and continued at intervals until 1858, during which he travelled in canoes or on foot for long distances, accompanied by natives only. Ascending the Mouni River, he

examined its southern affluents, and crossing the Sierra del Crystal, in which the Mouni rises, he reached one of the sources of the Ogowé, and entered into relations with the cannibal M'Fans, or Pahounis (p. 49), a people at that time only known by vague report. This was in 1850. In 1856, he made a short journey to the south of the Gaboon, to the Chekianis country, and penetrated as far as the village of Ngola.

In 1858 Du Chaillu, entering from the lagoon of Fernand-Vaz, ascended the Rembo and its tributary the Ovenga. From Olenda

† On the 31st of July, 1835.



KING DENIS.



PAHOUI FETISH DRESSES.
(From a Photograph by F. Bonaparte, 1, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.)

he entered the basin of the Ngounié, which rises in the Apinjis' country, and descended to the falls of Nagodji, a river which the natives declared joined the Ogabai or Ogowé.

The material result of these journeys was



PAUL BELLONI DU CHAILLU.
(From a Photograph by Sarony, New York.)

a large collection of animals, many of them new to science. But, important though many of his zoological discoveries were, the one which was not a discovery at all was destined to create most excitement and gave the travel-book* in which he described it greater popularity than all his other writings put together. This was the gorilla, the huge, ugly, but not very man-like ape, which had been known for nearly twenty-two centuries to inhabit the jungles of West Africa, if the skins of the hairy men and women which Hanno, the Carthaginian, hung up in the temple of Juno were not those of chimpanzees. Andrew Battell, of Leigh (Vol. I., p. 115), knew it, and ever since traders had settled in the region frequented by it the gorilla was a familiar brute. Skins and skulls had been sent to Europe and America, and its habits described by the missionaries; so that when M. du Chaillu arrived in London with specimens for sale,

naturalists were, and the more intelligent public ought to have been, reasonably well acquainted with the big ape.†

But his tale reached "society" as a kind of revelation. It was a new sensation, and for a season the gorilla, and the hunter who had slain twenty-two of them and who the fashionable world would insist had discovered them, were the lions of London drawing-rooms. Then came the reaction, when M. du Chaillu was declared to be merely a romance-writer, to have never killed a gorilla or seen a nest-building ape, but to have simply dressed up the stories told him by the natives. The Royal Geographical Society was for him, and the Zoological Society was against him. The great Dr. Petermann, of Gotha, doubted the accuracy of his cartography; and the still greater Dr. Barth, of Berlin, pronounced the travels little better than fiction. Dr. Gray opposed him, and Professor Owen defended him, and Sir Roderick Murchison—as was Sir Roderick's wont—took the side of the man who had "society" at his back. The skins sold to the British Museum were shown to have been obtained in a different way from that mentioned in M. du Chaillu's book, and it was not difficult to prove that the traveller described himself as being at one place on one page, while, on the same date, on another page he was said to be in a totally different locality. He was even affirmed by residents in the Gaboon never to have gone more than a few miles from the coast, and to have bought the skins which he sold at so high a price at a cheap rate from the natives, whose vivid imagination supplied the adventures. From the learned journals and the learned societies the controversy, bitter and often personal, passed into the newspapers, and overflowed in pamphlets and magazine articles,‡ until the veracity or otherwise of M. du Chaillu ran its

The gorilla controversy.

* "Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa" (1861); *Proceedings Royal Geog. Soc.*, Vol. V., p. 108.

† St. Hilaire, *Archives du Muséum*, Vol. X. (1858); Savage, *Journal of Natural History* (Boston), Vol. IV. (1843-44); Ford, *Transactions of the Academy of Natural Sciences*, Philadelphia, Vol. VI. (1852), etc.

‡ *Temple Bar*, Vol. III., p. 482, etc.

course as a subject of discussion and gave place to a fresher sensation.

The truth is, that the world took the lively trader too seriously. His book was not written for men of science, or for geographers, who, after "taking him up," felt bound to defend it, but for the uncritical patrons of New York journalism. His friend, indeed, pleaded that his volume had largely been put together by some American *littérateur*, who, so long as he could turn out a readable narrative, did not distress himself as to the gloss he put on the words of the ostensible author, whose knowledge of the English language was in those days by no means extensive.

Time has, however, acquitted M. du Chaillu of any conspiracy to deceive. He might have made blunders, exaggerated distances (as he readily admitted) through inexperience, and even allowed his Gallic verve rather free play. Yet in all essential particulars travellers of a later date have proved his accuracy, while the French explorations of the Ogowé*

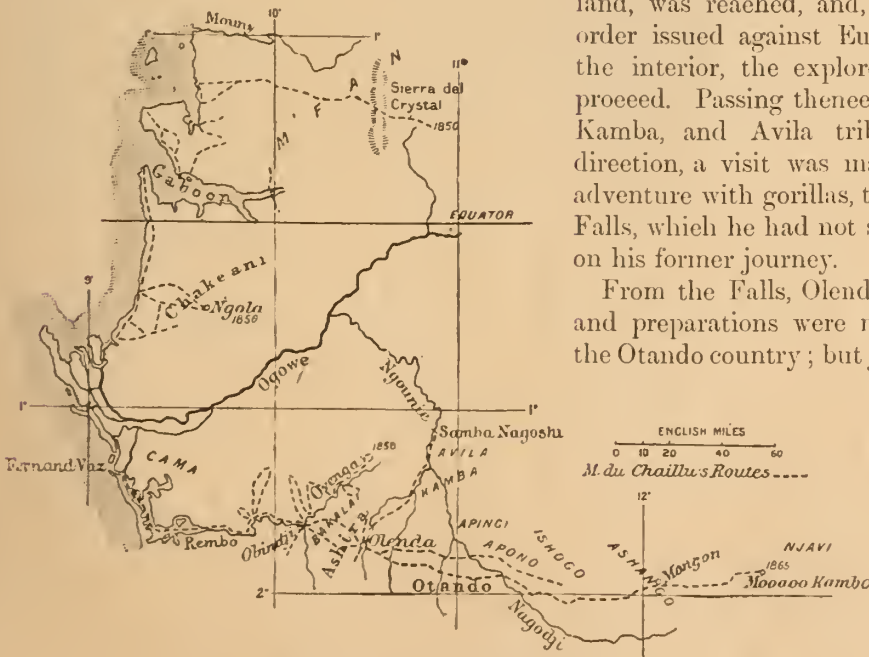
* Under Serval and Griffon du Bellay in 1862, and under Labigot and Touchard two years later.

have shown that his claims as an explorer were well founded.

Du Chaillu, however, sorely nettled at the unjust attacks made upon him, determined to undertake another expedition provided with better scientific Second expedition. equipment, in the shape of instruments and the art of using them, than he had at his disposal in his former journeys in the Gaboon country. In 1863, accordingly, he left for his old coast quarters with the intention of crossing Africa, and demonstrating the existence of that mountain chain which he erroneously believed to traverse it from side to side. His landing was bad; for, by the capsizing of a boat, he lost so much of his outfit that he had to wait until it was replaced from England. At last, however, he made a start from Fernand-Vaz, at the mouth of the river of that name, accompanied by some of the Camas tribe, with whom he had long been on good terms. His route lay up the Fernand-Vaz River to Obindji, near the head waters of the Ovenga, the chief of which was his old friend. After a good deal of trouble Olenda, in Ashiraland, was reached, and, in spite of a recent order issued against Europeans travelling in the interior, the explorer was permitted to proceed. Passing thence through the Bakalai, Kamba, and Avila tribes, in a northerly direction, a visit was made, after some little adventure with gorillas, to the Samba Nagoshi Falls, which he had not succeeded in reaching on his former journey.

From the Falls, Olenda was again reached, and preparations were made for penetrating the Otando country; but just then an epidemic

of small-pox broke out. Such epidemics seem not uncommon; for all along the part of the Rembo River descended on the way to its falls, deserted villages imparted to its



MAP OF DU CHAILLU'S JOURNEYS.

banks the sadness so common in that forest-covered tract of Africa. Ashira was now desolate. The chief died, and many of the people were inclined to blame Du Chaillu as the cause of the calamity. It was therefore with difficulty that the Apono, Ishogo, and Ashango territories were traversed. On the way to the last-named country a tribe of Obongo, or dwarf negroes, was met with. They never labour, but lead a wandering life, remaining

and the porters supplied by them somewhat exacting in their demands. News of a large river ahead was encouraging to the explorer. On its banks lived the Ashangui, and only the Njavi and Abombo tribes had to be passed before it was reached. All might, however, have gone well had not an unfortunate mishap suddenly put an end to any further progress. At the village of Mooaoo Kambo, 440 miles from his starting-point, one of his temporary



NEAR STATION N'DJOLÉ, RIVER OGOWÉ.

(From a Photograph by F. Roux.)

but a short time in one place, trapping game for sale to the plantain-cultivating tribes, are light in colour, well-made though short in stature, and altogether the lowest type of human beings the traveller had yet encountered. They appear to be part of the Pigmies, with whom we have already become acquainted (Vol III., p. 34).

The Ashango country is hilly, the village of Mongon, 265 miles from the mouth of the Fernand-Vaz, being 2,488 feet above the sea. The people of this region were hospitable, though warlike,

porters, in carelessly firing a gun, killed two of the people. It was idle to reason with the enraged villagers or to expect the porters to make a stand. Loads were thrown away in order to enable them to run more quickly. "As I brought up the rear with the man who had been the cause of the disaster, I saw, to my great dismay, my precious instruments, collections of natural history, photographs of scenery and natives, note-books, and goods scattered in the jungle—the work of many months irretrievably lost. My men threw away all that I most

A sad mishap
and a hurried
retreat.

esteemed, but retained their loads of beads and other articles which they valued. They only stopped in their flight when forced to do so from sheer exhaustion." Fortunately, however, though assailed again and again with

ten months by the loss of his instruments, it was the following August before he set out, and as he again took ship for London in September, 1865, his travels had occupied little more than a year. Though not so



NEAR LAMBARÉNÉ, RIVER OGOWÉ.

(From a Photograph taken for the Paris Society for Evangelical Missions.)

spears and poisoned arrows, the expedition was enabled to repulse the pursuing Njavi until the territory of friendly tribes was again reached.

Du Chaillu had left London on the 5th of August, 1863, and reached the Fernand-Vaz on the 9th of October; but being detained

sensational as those which had subjected him to so much criticism, they were of more permanent and decidedly of more scientific value. The positions of important points were fixed by astronomical observations, and altitudes by barometer and the boiling-point of water. His account of the dwarfs was

valuable, and several sections of the country described by him had for the first time been visited by white men.*

Since that date "Chaillie," as the Gaboon people called him, has written many books—some of a more ambitious character than the two which record his earliest travels; but Africa has not seen him again, and such is the perversity of Fame that "the Gorilla man" is likely to live in literature as the author of learned treatises on the Viking age and the Scandinavian peninsula.

In 1884 the French settlements on the Gulf of Guinea (Côte de Guinée) consisted of Grand Bassam, Assinie, Grand Lahou, and Jackeville; and Porto Novo, Kotonu, Grand Popo and Agoué, the first two being rented from the King of Dahomey for an annuity of £80. A few years later they were divided into two colonies—dependencies for administrative purposes—of the Rivières du Sud. Again, in 1892, the last-named region, the Ivory Coast (Côte de l'Ivoire), the Gold Coast (Établissements de la Côte d'Or), and the settlements on the Bight of Benin (Côte des Esclaves) were

united into one Government—"Guinée Française et dépendances." But the vast changes which a year later were caused by the conquest of the Dahomey "hinterland"—of which we shall have something to say when the struggles for the back country of West Africa are considered—may at any moment dictate a fresh shifting of these colonies, though it is not at all probable that the ownership of the coast-line can suffer further alterations. Nor does it seem likely that in themselves these unhealthy portions of Greater France will ever grow more valuable, unless, indeed, the "hinterland" pours its problematical wealth into them. Even yet, the imports exceed the exports in value, and of the former the greater part comes from England. The Rivières du Sud comprised at the time of which we speak all the coast from 11° to nearly 9° N. (the British Los Islands excepted), and inland between the rivers as far as Futa-Jallon, with Conakry as the capital. Its products are much the same as those of Senegal, and its coast-living population is about 48,000; apart from the colonial revenue, France spends on it about a million francs per annum.†

* "A Journey to Ashangoland" (1867); "Second Journey into Equatorial West Africa" (*Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1866, p. 64), etc.

† Bouche: "La Côte des Esclaves (1885); Barret: "L'Afrique Occidentale" (1887); Librecht d'Albea: "Les Établissements Français du Golfe de Benin" (1890).



VILLAGE OF N'GAKIN, SAUWI, FRENCH IVORY COAST.
(From a Photograph by M. Marcel Monnier.)

CHAPTER IV.

COLONISATION: THE FRENCH IN NORTH AFRICA

North Africa—How Colonies were Secured—Why Red Sea Shore thought of—Obock—History—Algeria—Not a Colony—Its History—Captured by Barbarossa—A Den of Pirates—The Scourge of Christendom—Attacks on by European Powers—By Charles V.—By Sir Robert Mansel—By Admiral Lambert—By Blake—By the French in 1683 and 1688—Consuls Blown from the Guns—A Danish Failure in 1770—Spaniards under O'Reilly in 1775 and 1783—Humiliating Treaty with France in 1789—Insolence of Baba Hassan—Subservience of France—Nearing the End—Exmouth's and Van Capellen's Bombardment in 1816—A British Attack in 1824—French Quarrel—Invasion and Capture of Algiers in 1830—End of the Deys—Algeria under the French—“*Civilisation de luxe*”—Tunis—Its History—French Quarrel with—The Bey given Two Hours to Accept the Protectorate—Condition of Country—Maltese and Sicilians, etc.

WHEN France became infected by the colonial fever, and awoke to the consciousness that a tropical trading settlement could never be a colony in the sense that Australia, New Zealand, and Canada are, the temperate south was occupied by Great Britain and the temperate north by races who had no desire to share it with any fresh claimants. The problem had therefore to be solved in another way; and how it was solved this chapter will show. But the shores of the Red Sea did not, until the Suez Canal advanced beyond the stage of discussion, stimulate the appetite of France for expansion in that direction. The land was hot, dry, and unattractive, and the soil decidedly light. However, even this poorest part of North Africa was not any longer to be permitted to accept the undisputed lordship of its semi-savage tribes. The new highway between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean called attention to the desirableness of securing a footing on the Red

Obock.

Sea coast. This was found at Obock, which now includes the Bay of Tajurah, about 3,800 square miles, and a native population of 23,000, on the African side of that torrid gulf. It does some trade with Shoa and the Somalis, Danakils, and Gallas, and costs France not much short of half a million francs per annum. Eventually it may be useful as a coaling-station.

But though the brothers Lambert, one of whom was French Consul at Aden, were taking an ostentatiously active part in the

quarrels of the native chiefs, it is possible that, had not the British reoccupied in January, 1857, the island of Perim (which had been temporarily held in 1799), the offer of Ibrahim Abubeker to cede Ras-Ali and Ouano for the sum of 10,000 Maria Theresa thalers, might have remained for a long time in the shape of a pigeon-hole memorandum in the French Foreign Office. On the other hand, it is quite as likely that the strategic advantages of Perim would not have so suddenly dawned on the Aden authorities of 1857 had not a whisper reached them that, if the island were not to become French, there was no time to be lost. Accordingly, while the French captains—so runs the tale—were tarrying over the wine-cup, “perfidious Albion” was enlarging the limits of her empire. In fact, in occupying Perim, if we may credit the diplomatic anecdote (which is, however, not found in the official version*), England's practice was in this case almost as sharp as was that of Spain in outwitting France by seizing the Chaffarinas Isles a few hours ahead of her rival. At all events, by a convention concluded in 1862, France took a paper possession of the port of Oboek, with the territory stretching from Ras-Donneirah on the north, to Ras-Ali on the south. Yet, though effective occupation was not made until 1884, the

* Playfair's “History of Yemen” (1859); King's “Descriptive and Historical Account of the British Outpost at Perim, Straits of Ba'b el Ma'ndeb” (1877), etc.



STREET IN ALGIERS.

(From a Photograph by F. Leroux, Algiers.)

Obock bounds have been considerably enlarged from time to time; and, excepting a slight friction with the Egyptians in 1881—owing to the Khedive's flag having been planted on the ceded ground—France has been in peaceful possession of the parched region which costs so much and returns so little. Only, the colonists no more come to the port of Obock than they came to the port of Ait, north of Bab-el-Mandeb Strait, which, in 1835, a French merchant bought in the hope of attracting trade from Massowah. The tribes-

men still prefer Berbera and Zeila. But, as we learn from a recent official publication, Obock is not intended so much for bare commerce as to keep watch and ward over Aden, on the opposite shore.*

We have left the most important French possession in Africa to the last, though its acquisition dates as far back as 1830. **Algiers.**

In that year the city of Algiers was captured—or surrendered. But Algeria was not conquered until 1871, when there was a vigorous rebellion of tribesmen who had never fully recognised the new lords of the land. And, even after Algiers and its dependencies were in French hands, there were several little independent principalities, whose existence was acknowledged, and a vast area of country which it took millions of French money and floods of French blood to reduce into a semblance of sully submission to its latest masters. And in speaking of Algeria as a "colony," we must remember that it is so in the slightest way. The nearest part of Africa to France, an effort has always

been made to rule it as a part of the mother country. Indeed, the so-called Barbary States, though geographically in Africa, have never been politically of it. The Berbers—or Kabyles, as the French call them—are most likely European immigrants (p. 57). The Jews are mostly from Europe, though many of them are of very ancient advent; and the Moors—a loose term under which the

* Rivoyre: "Les Français à Obock" (1888); Salma: "Obock" (1893); De Lanessan: "L'expansion coloniale" (1886).

more or less mixed Arabs are included—are invaders of a much later date; while the negroes of the country have all been torn from their homes in tropical Africa by the slave-dealers with whom they or their ancestors crossed the desert. Hence, the relations of the Barbary people have always been more with the continent separated from them by a narrow sea than with that which has interposed the Atlas and the Sahara as barriers between the hot south and the temperate north.

After being successively under the Romans (A.D. 20), the Vandals (429), and the Arabs (647), with periods during which the Spaniards and the Sultan of Morocco held portions, most of Algeria, by the conquests of the two pirate chiefs, the brothers Barbarossa, fell under Turkish control in 1520. Nominally, suffragans of the Grand Seigneur, the Deys—frequently renegade Greeks and Italians elected by the

Janissaries—were during their short careers practically independent monarchs, who treated with the European Powers on more than equal terms. “My mother,” Mohammed Pasha informed the French Consul when he complained of the outrages by Algerine cruisers, “sold sheep’s feet, and my father neats’ tongues; but they would have been ashamed to have offered for sale so vile a tongue as yours!” In a rough way, this royal explosion indicates at once the humble origin of the rulers of Algiers and the insolence with which they were permitted to address the representatives of great nations. For ages the place was a den of pirates, who preyed on European commerce and held large numbers of Christians as slaves for life if they could not effect their ransom. Besides their native forces, recruits were beat up among the villainous population of the Levant. Dr. Shaw, who was English chaplain at Algiers in the early part of



KABYLE BERBER VILLAGE, ALGERIA.

(From a Photograph by P. Famin, Algiers.)

last century, declares that a more execrable set of scoundrels were never got together than these volunteers for the trade of piracy. They were "ragamuffins, banditti, cowherds, and persons of the most miserable appearance. Yet this ragged gentry, after a little polishing in Algiers—after they have got caps to their heads and shoes to their feet, and, perhaps, a pair of large knives to their girdles—observing how large a share they have in the government, and that they are the guardians and protectors of the kingdom, and that every Moor and Arab lies drooping before them—after all these honours and privileges, I say—these tatterdemalions affect grandeur, and majesty, expect the title of 'Effendi,' or 'Your Grace,' and look upon the best of us as if we were his groom or his footman."

From Madeira to Baltimore in Ireland, from the Greek Islands to the Frith of Forth,* the Algerine pirates were the terror of merchant-men. Algiers was crammed with Christian slaves, who were often treated very cruelly, and the citizens wallowed in the wealth derived from the capture of European ships. The jealousy of the Powers prevented combined action against these ruffians. On the contrary—to the ineffable infamy of Christianity—nothing was more common than for one nation to curry favour with the Dey in order to induce him to harass another with which it happened to be at war. And, as the Algerines never respected any treaty which they could violate with impunity, this was seldom difficult so long as the bribe was sufficiently great. Tribute was actually paid to this pirate

rabble for the privilege of being left alone. Even England, France, and Spain, though they were strong enough to escape annual exactions, made the Dey valuable gifts in arms, ammunition, money and goods, which, however disguised, were simply vulgar blackmail, and treated by the recipient as such. A still more contemptible reason for the disgraceful apathy of Europe to the "scourge of Christendom" was the fact that the great mercantile companies—like the Levant merchants—who could afford to purchase or to compel tolerance from the pirates were not unwilling to see the vessels of their petty rivals snapped up.

"If there had not been an Algiers," someone put it with cynical frankness, "it would be necessary to invent one." And what has been said of the Algerine corsairs applied in a smaller way to those of Morocco, Tunis, and Tripoli (Vol. I., p. 100). Accordingly, as late as 1798, we have the American Consul at Tunis—



SAFFRON CROCUS (*Crocus sativus*) OF TRIPOLI.

by no means an immaculate State—expressing indignant amazement that so illiterate a despot as the Dey of Algiers could be permitted to lord it over the commerce of so many important nations. "Can any man believe," writes Mr. Eaton, "that this elevated brute has seven kings of Europe, two republics, and a continent tributary to him, when his whole naval force is not equal to two line-of-battle ships?" † It is true, that at wide intervals there were occasions when Europe, exasperated beyond endurance with the exactions, insolence, and faithlessness of Algiers, sailed against it with wrathful intent. But it was seldom that these expeditions

† Playfair's "Scourge of Christendom," p. 6. This work is full of interesting details regarding the dealings of this and other countries with Algiers, extracted from official records.

The Crescent
and the Cross.

* Dan: "Histoire de Barbarie" (1649), p. 313: Introduction to "Adventures of Thomas Pellow" (1890), p. 24.

obtained much success. For Algiers was a strong place in a day of wooden ships and smooth-bore guns, and, in only one instance—and that was the last—did the armed indignation of Christendom work any permanent change in the pirates' manners.

In 1541 Charles V. appeared before Algiers, but returned with the loss of a third of his army and more than a third of

The attacks on Algiers.

his fleet. A storm no doubt helped the Algerines, though the fact of Charles declining the earnest advice of the famous Cortes to renew the attack, shows that he had underestimated the pirates' strength. Nor had the fleet sent by James I., under Sir Robert Mansel, much better fortune. Actually, while negotiations were going on, two British captures were brought into the harbour, and no sooner was the admiral's back turned than the corsairs "picked up near forty good sail" and infested the Spanish coasts with greater fury than ever, though it was mainly at the request of Spain that the expedition had been sent. In 1628 the Dutch Admiral Lambert was less easily satisfied. For, after hanging some pirates at the yard-arm, his demand for the restitution of certain ships and captives was granted; and after Blake's famous fight off Tunis in 1655, he had little difficulty in silencing opposition when he appeared in front of Algiers.

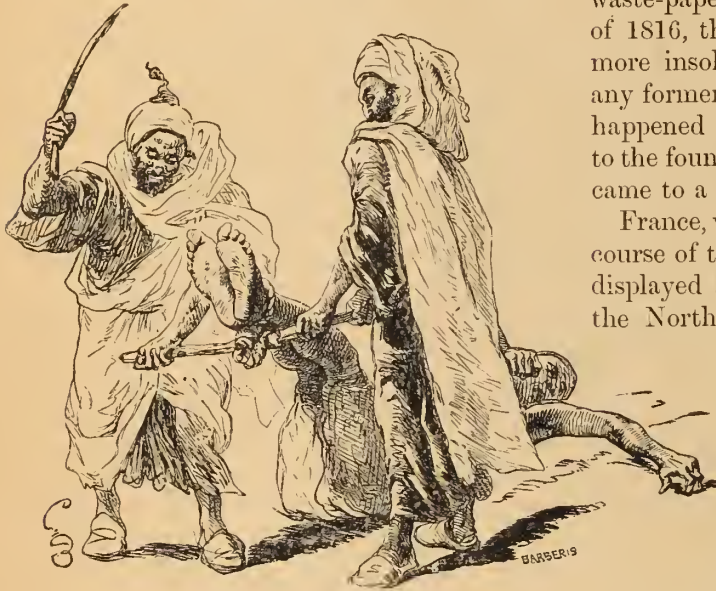
But by the beginning of Charles the Second's reign the pirates had so fully resumed their old pranks that when Mr. Pepys spent the afternoon drinking in the Fleece Tavern the conversation was all on Algiers and the life there, Captain Mootham and Mr. Dawes (father of the Archbishop of York) contributing their experience of slavery. In 1683 the French bombarded the town, with the result that the French Consul and the Vicar-Apostolic were blown from the pirates' guns. Five years later the reprisal for a second bombardment was that forty Frenchmen were blown from the cannon's mouth. None of these expeditions was successful. For Algiers remained where it did, and, as in the case of the Danes who in 1770 attacked the robbers' den, the

European nation that had hoped to capture Algiers was permitted to change its mind on the humiliating condition of delivering up ships, guns, and ammunition. In 1775 a Spanish expedition, under O'Reilly, was a disastrous failure. A second, in 1783, bombarded the town with little effect, except that some houses were destroyed and their inhabitants killed; and a third attempt in the following year was so futile that the Dey was able to sell peace to the discomfited Spaniards for a million of piastres and a vast amount of military stores. In 1789 the French made a new treaty with the Dey, at the cost of most humiliating concessions, though possibly not more humiliating than those which Louis XIV. had submitted to after his unsuccessful ventures against the African pirates. Towards the close of the eighteenth century the power of Algiers was almost at its zenith. When Baba Hassan became Dey he ordered the French Government to send a frigate in which to convey his envoy to Constantinople, and intimated that in future the annual presents—or tribute—from the Consuls must be doubled. No one seemed inclined to dispute the extortions of this corsair chief. "Whenever," writes Sir Lambert Playfair, "he was in want of money he declared war against some European Power, and forced it to purchase peace at an extravagant price. Venice, Spain, Holland, Portugal, Denmark, and Naples were thus treated, and even America followed their example in 1795 at a price of 721,000 dollars and an annual tribute of 22,000, not including Consular presents. Small wonder then that at that time the Dey's treasury was reported to contain four millions sterling."

Yet, at that time, the naval force of the Algerines was not formidable; and just when, owing to the intrigues and wars of Europe, they seemed least vincible, their power was approaching a close. However, for some years to come the Deys continued to levy contributions on Christendom. Napoleon paid them. So did the young United States, though they soon

The beginning of the end.

rebelled against the insolence of the pirates. Their example was followed in 1816 by Great Britain and Holland sending fleets against Algiers under the command of Lord Exmouth and Admiral Van Capellen, and before the Algerines had time to open fire effectively, the ships were run into the circle of cannon, and succeeded, after a terrific bombardment, in silencing the principal batteries, destroying the pirate fleet, and reducing the place almost to ruins. More than 700 tons of iron



PUNISHMENT BY BASTINADO.

were discharged against it by 118 tons of gunpowder; while 136 British and Dutch were killed. The Algerines' loss was estimated at 7,000.

The result of this spirited action was that all the Christian slaves in the town were freed, Christian slavery was declared at an end, and other conditions equally favourable were obtained. But Algiers had not abandoned all hope of regaining power. For the pirates again became the owners of a fleet, and, as Sir Thomas Allen wrote, in 1668, were still the most "artfull, dissembling, hypocriticall traytors in the world." Accordingly, in 1824, it was necessary for another British fleet to appear before the town, and,

after a slight engagement, leave without compelling the "hippocriticall traytors" to respect the Exmouth treaty. This made them more arrogant than ever. A Consul had to uncover the moment he came in sight of the Dey's palace, and to sit on a stone bench in the public passage whilst waiting for an audience. He was not permitted to wear a sword in the Dey's presence, nor ride to the palace, though his own servants, if Mohammedans, could do so. Treaties were treated as waste-paper, and, in spite of the chastisement of 1816, the Algerines were more audacious, more insolent, and more perfidious than at any former period of their history. Then it happened that the bowl went once too often to the fountain, and the tale of Algerine perfidy came to a close.

France, we have seen, had many times in the course of the preceding three or four centuries displayed a tendency to obtain a footing on the North African shore. But hitherto its efforts had not been successful or its hold permanent. In 1830, however, the Dey, in an angry discussion with the French Consul regarding the claim of a Jew on the French Government, lost his temper and struck that functionary. The Jew's claims were complicated with an assertion of the right of France to repair and garrison the

old fort at La Calle, though it is not improbable that both cases were employed simply as excuses for the designs of Charles X.'s Government on Algeria. At all events, a French army was landed at Sidi Ferruch, and Algiers surrendered by the Dey, almost without opposition, on the 6th of July, 1830.*

The subsequent history of Algeria is entirely that of a French possession. Abd-el-Kader and other Arab and Berber chiefs maintained a long struggle against the Christians. But even

French
Algiers.

* Playfair: "Algeria and Tunis" (1887), and "The Scourge of Christendom" (1884); Piesse: "L'Algérie et Tunisie" (1889); Rotalier: "Histoire d'Alger" (1841); Mercier: "Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale" (1888-1891); Gaffarel: "Histoire de l'Algérie" (1883), etc.

they had to surrender, and now the tribesmen, if not pacified, have ceased to fight. They sullenly recognise the inevitable, though it took more than forty years for them to do so. And on the other hand, so much blood and treasure was spent upon the conquest, that the fee simple of Algeria has cost a sum

For half the year there is no lovelier climate in the world, and even during the hot season it is possible to find, in the Atlas and its spurs, the coolness which is denied to the lowlands. Almost any European fruit, vegetable, or grain can be grown—if the locusts permit. Figs and oranges are staples, and



OASIS OF BISKRA.

(From a Photograph by P. Famin, Algiers.)

so large that even the most chauvinistic of Frenchmen winces as he tries to calculate the figures. It is still the most costly of colonies, and, unless Frenchmen develop a greater love for Africa than they have yet shown, except on paper, "L'Algérie" will continue to be the pampered child of the Paris bureaucracy. Public works have been constructed on the most lavish scale. France itself has not finer. Every old Arab town is half-transformed, and Algiers itself is now a pleasant French city, where the native quarter is rapidly getting less and less in evidence.

the date is the harvest of the oases. Vines, olives, and tobacco flourish. Alfa and esparto grass are exported. Stock abound, and among the mineral wealth, beautiful marbles, iron, lead, salt, copper, etc., are plentiful. Yet the colonists do not come in numbers at all equal to the baits put before them. Out of 4,130,000 inhabitants, only 261,000 are

Frenchmen (soldiers included), and 220,000 "other Europeans." The fine hotels are for the invalids who crowd Algiers, Hammam Mekoutin, with its hot springs, and Biskra (p. 61) on the border of the desert, as soon as winter closes in; and the railway which runs between Algiers and Tunis carries a great many more tourists and soldiers and military stores than the produce of the Algerian soil. For, if France clings to Algeria, which she won so dearly, Frenchmen do not seem to care much for it. It is not regarded as Britons regard Australia, the climate of which is no better. Algeria is not a home, but a place of exile, where money may be earned more easily than on the other side of the Gulf of Lyons, but not a land in which it is to be invested. Government is expected to do so much that private enterprise is reduced to a minimum.

The course taken in dealing with Algeria, as Sir Lambert Playfair tells us,* is aptly styled "*colonisation de luxe*."

Colonisation
"de luxe." "France has been transported to

Africa: the country is covered with French towns and villages, naturalisation is thrust upon the resident foreigners, an air of permanence and solidity pervades everything, the railways are as good as the best in France, the roads are unsurpassed, there is hardly a hydraulic work in the world more remarkable for solidity and beauty of construction than the Port of Philippeville, and the irrigation works, though not uniformly successful, are splendid in their conception.

. . . The natives are nothing—no one pays any attention to their wants—and the colonisation that has been carried out has been practicable only through the confiscation of their lands in consequence of a revolt, and they now work as day-labourers on the properties of which they were once the owners.

"The administration and policy in Algeria were subject to many fluctuations. In 1834, during the progress of the conquest, a dual system of government was devised, which is

said to have produced deplorable results. A Governor-General under the Ministry of War was appointed, and under him were the Civil Intendant, who centralised the various services, and a director of native affairs, who was at one time a native chief, at another a French officer. The system when carried out in detail is described as the 'most inflexible and often tyrannical tutelage, without a shadow of self-government or municipal liberty.' In 1848, Algeria was declared French territory, and three departments were substituted for the existing provinces. The system of government by ordinances was abolished, and Algeria was thenceforth to be under laws regularly voted by Parliament. Municipal franchise was granted, and the communes were placed under duly elected councils. The colony also obtained the right of sending three deputies to Parliament. The *Coup d'État* altered all this, and restored the previous state of things. A Governor-General was appointed, and each department was divided into two parts, one administered by civil, the other by military, authorities—a system which produced constant friction and conflict. In 1858 this was again abolished, and a special Ministry for Algeria was established in Paris, Prince Napoleon being the first Minister. This change was pronounced a failure, and when, after the Italian war, France had time to turn its attention to Algeria, the Emperor himself determined to visit the colony. His first act on his return was to abolish the Ministry and appoint Marshal Pelissier Governor-General with the most absolute powers, and to fasten military rule more securely than ever on the colony. In 1863 the Emperor addressed a letter to the Marshal, in which he said that Algeria was not a colony properly so called, but an Arab kingdom; and soon afterwards a law was passed recognising the Arabs as individual proprietors of the soil, which they had hitherto held in usufruct, as communities. For several years from this time Algeria suffered all the ills that can afflict a country—insurrection, famine, epidemics.

* Reports of the British Consul-General for 1888 (Foreign Office); Silva White, *Scot. Geog. Mag.*, 1894, p. 185.

"A commission was sent from France to inquire into the state of the colony, and military government was abolished by a unanimous vote of the Chamber in 1870; but, owing to insurrection and other causes, it was not until 1879 that the first really civil Governor was appointed. At the present moment a certain amount of autonomy and decentralisation are the favourite ideas of the colonists. All this time colonisation and immigration of different kinds were being encouraged. At first military colonisation was tried; young soldiers were selected, hastily married to young girls, who received a small dowry, and the pairs were sent off to Algeria. The unions usually ended when the dowry was spent. Then followed gratuitous concessions of land under certain conditions. In 1848 large numbers of unemployed workmen in France were induced to emigrate by grants of land, seed, agricultural implements, and money, the Chambers having voted 50,000,000 francs for the purpose. About 20,000 persons emigrated in this way; but, as a rule, they were not fit for the life, and few either of the colonists or of the villages founded for them prospered. Ever since public land has been sold. The Emperor's idea of an Arab kingdom, and the granting of proprietary rights to the Arabs in the lands which they had hitherto only occupied, checked colonisation. In 1871 natives of Alsace and Lorraine to the number of 10,500 persons were granted lands, and started under the most favourable circumstances, and from this time immigration went on increasing. During the last eleven years about a million and a quarter acres of land have been granted, and 8,000 families settled. This cost 15,000,000 francs, not including the cost of the land, and it is estimated that each colonist brought to the country cost the State £160. The land for this purpose was placed in the hands of the Government by successive Arab revolts and consequent confiscations."

This has proved more successful. The financial condition of Algeria is pronounced excellent, and the colony, though it does not

yet pay expenses, is more prosperous than at any former period. Still, compared with what would have been the case with a British dependency, this fruitful land so near Europe shows but a poor return for more than sixty years of costly nursing.*

Adjoining Algeria is the ancient Roman province of "Africa," now Tunisia, or, as it has for more than three centuries been officially known, the Regency ^{Tunisia: its history.} of Tunis. Its history is very similar to that of the other Barbary States which have now lost their independence. Always more civilised and prosperous than its neighbours, Tunis, in days before the Arab invasion, was the finest of all the Roman colonies. For Carthage was a Tunisian city, and there are scattered over it the fragments of what must, during the Punic and Roman periods, have been large towns; while the ruins of the monuments and theatres attest the wealth and luxury of its inhabitants (Vol. III., pp. 84, 108). During the centuries succeeding the Arab invasion, the chronicles of Tunis are very much the rise and fall of dynasties, the spread or diminution of their kingdom, and the prosperity or reverse of the country, according to the enlightenment or the opposite of its kings. Frequently at war with the adjoining sovereignties, there was a time, during the Hafsite rule, when the empire of which it was the centre extended from Tlemsen to Tripoli, and was, to a certain extent, recognised by its master receiving the homage of the Merinide kings of Fez. Again and again had Tunis to bear the brunt of Frankish invasions. The most notable of these was that in which St. Louis of France lost his life (1270) near the site of Carthage, and that (1390) under the Duke of Bourbon, with whom were the Duke of Beaufort (son of the Duke of Lancaster), Sir John Russell, Sir John Butler, Sir John Harecourt, and other English knights, who laid siege, unsuccessful-

* The literature on Algeria is prodigious in amount. In Sir Lambert Playfair's "Bibliography of Algeria" (*Supp. Papers of the Royal Geog. Soc.*, 1888) 4,745 separate entries occur, and already large additions will be required to bring the work up to date.

fully, to the city of Mahadia, often called "Africa" in the ancient chronicles.

It was in 1525 that Kheir-ed-din, brother of Barbarossa, who had become master of Algiers, captured the city of Tunis and put the kingdom under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. In 1535 Charles V. restored the old dynasty and occupied Goletta, the port of the capital. But in 1570 the Turks again obtained possession. Three years

The last of this dynasty was murdered in 1702 by the last of the Deys, who was succeeded by Hosain ben Ali, the son of a Greek renegade, proclaimed Bey by the troops, and the dynasty of the Hosainites kept the throne until the authority of the Bey became, in 1881, a mere name.

The piracy of the Tunisians had more than once brought them into trouble with Europe. Of these collisions the most notable was that



TUNIS, FROM THE ARTILLERY BARRACKS.

(From a Photograph by J. Garrigues, Tunis.)

later they, in their turn, retreated before Don John of Austria, who, however, did not follow up his conquest; so that by 1574 the Sultan had little difficulty in driving the Spaniards out of the country and reducing it to the condition of a Turkish province. However, little by little, the Beys who governed it became hereditary monarchs, who professed only the most nominal allegiance to their suzerain in Constantinople. From 1631 to 1702 the dignity of Bey—who was at first an officer charged with the control of the tribes and the collection of tribute*—was hereditary in the family of Murad, a Corsican renegade.

* The first Turkish ruler was a Pasha; but, as in Algiers, the Janissaries replaced him by a military Dey elected by them from among their own ranks. But the authority of the Bey, possibly because he had the tribes at his back and kept the purse, soon overshadowed and at length effaced that of the military tribune.

during which Blake inflicted so condign a chastisement on the corsairs of Porto Farino (p. 59). But up to the fall of Algiers piracy was never abandoned, and Christian slavery existed until Lord Exmouth's victory over the Algerines warned the Tunisians that their turn would soon be due. The revenue of the country, however, largely depended on the plunder of merchantmen and the sale of captives; and when this source of income was cut off, the languid Beys, unable to find new outlets for their energies, permitted the country to get exploited by European adventurers, and her finances to fall into hopeless disorder.

The end of this was not long in coming. France had long wearied for the possession of

The tale
of a great
"land-grab."



KABYLE (BERBER) MARKET,
ALGERIA.

this natural extension of Algeria; and, after the pacification of that colony, her earth-hunger became very keen in various parts of Africa and the East. An excuse for picking a quarrel with Tunis was not long in presenting itself, in the raid of the Kroumirs, one of

accepted a French protectorate; though, in truth, the only people from whom protection was required were his now self-appointed protectors. Indeed, so little did the Tunisians appreciate the Franks' kindness that it took some time before they were pacified, and to



BAZAAR, TUNIS.

(From a Photograph by J. Garrigues, Tunis.)

those independent tribes in the North-East who do not pay much attention to frontiers. Under the pretence of chastising them, French troops, supported by a French fleet, entered the Regency, and, soon leaving the Kroumirs to their own devices, marched on Tunis, and on the 12th of May, 1881, compelled the Bey—Mohammed-es-Saddock—to sign the treaty of K'sar es-Said, by which he

this day a large army of occupation is maintained at their expense to prevent them from returning to their pristine condition.* But, possibly, even the Kroumirs would have been

* De la Rive: "Histoire générale de la Tunisie" (1883); Rousseau: "Annales tunisiennes" (1864); Facon: "La Tunisie," 2 Vols. (1893); Lallemand: "Tunis et ses environs" (1890); Bernard: "Les côtes barbaresques de Tripoli à Tunis" (1892); and the works enumerated in Ashbee's "Bibliography of Tunis" (1889).

permitted to remain unnoticed as *provocateurs* had not the conspirators against Tunisian independence felt that no time was to be lost. As usual, a financial plot was at the bottom of the scandal, and those who believe in Fouché's maxim of *cherchez la femme* have not failed to discover that the latter *teterrima causa belli* was an active agent in this most discreditable episode. The Sultan of Turkey was too feeble to do more than protest at the seizure of his suffragan's dominions, and England's mouth had been shut by the recent occupation of Cyprus on behalf, though possibly not altogether with the good will, of the Sick Man of Stamboul.

Tunisia, it is true, had it been permitted to take its natural development, would have become a colony of Malta. Every year, the sturdy people of that overpopulated island, send—and for ages have sent—active contingents to the coast of Barbary, which lies within a few hours' sail of their homes. All along the Mediterranean, in the Levant, in Algeria, and in Tripoli, they play much the same part that the "Rock Scorpions" of Gibraltar do in Morocco. But Tunis, being the nearest portion of Africa, naturally attracted the largest share of the surplus Maltese. The "Malta Es-Segheira" quarter in the capital is, as the name ("Little Malta") signifies, almost entirely inhabited by these sober, industrious people. Akin in language and origin to the Arabs, they soon pick up the country vernacular, and, coming from a kindred climate, the heat of Barbary is no discomfort to such tireless folk. Thousands of them are always in Tunis, where they act as links between the Europeans proper and the Arabs. They are the little shopkeepers in all the coast towns, the fishermen, the butchers, the cattle-dealers, the boatmen, and the keepers of cafés, and nearly every Consular agent is a Maltese, with a name which stamps him of that strange little nationality which is Phœnician at bottom with Arab (*et cetera*) as a somewhat jumbled superstructure. "Christian Arabs" is a not inapt name for them. They are sometimes called Italians,

an error fostered by the old ignorance of the colonial authorities in making Italian the official language of Malta.* But there have always been large numbers of true Italians in Tunis. Most of these are Sicilians, and so steady is the emigration from that island that fully half of the Europeans in the Regency owe allegiance either to Queen Victoria or to King Humbert. Italy naturally looked to Tunis as her share of the plunder when the oft-threatened but long-lived Turkish Empire fell in pieces. Already she had made the first step in regaining what had, in former days, been first a foreign country in disagreeable proximity to Sicily and then a part of the Empire, by buying up—in the name of a company—the line of railway from Goletta to the capital. It was therefore necessary, if Tunis was not to slip through the Frenchman's fingers, to secure it, and this accordingly was done, with the result that the enmity of Italy has been secured at the same time.

It is called a protectorate. But, so far as the power of the Bey is concerned, the country might as lief be annexed to France. Everything is done in Tunis under
the French. the Bey's name; but he is never consulted. His palace cannot even be seen without an order from the French Resident, which seems a curious way of teaching the country to do without its protectors. For there is a facetious article in the Treaty of K'sar es-Saïd which intimates that "the occupation will cease when the Tunisian and French authorities recognise that the Bey's Government is in a condition to guarantee the maintenance of order." When this time arrives the unanimity of the Bey and the President will be unanimous indeed! This system of affecting to rule by a *roi fainéant* suits the French bureaucracy very well. For if Tunis was part of France it would require to be governed by French law, while, under the sham of the Resident having to obey the behests of the Bey, some extra-

* This subject is discussed in "The Peoples of the World," Vol. V., pp. 310-315.

ordinary pieces of despotism are enacted in that poor scape-goat's name.

Yet the country has been vastly improved since the French came. The system of legal procedure is, perhaps, needlessly cumbersome for a primitive people like the Arabs, who want cheap justice promptly administered without too many technical elaborations; and, unquestionably, the number of officials foisted on Tunis is little short of a political scandal. Financial jobbery is also

wild Bedouins. Tall chimneys are shooting up around the olive groves, and the tourist may travel by a tramway car from Susa to the once holy city of Kairwan. He may even enter—by an order of the French Commandant—the thrice-sacred mosque of Sidi Okba, and find the custodian hold out his hand for the five-franc piece as readily as if he were the verger of an English cathedral. And, curiously enough, Kairwan, which once upon a time was closed to Jew or Christian (unless



SUSA (THE ANCIENT HADRUMETUM), TUNISIA.

(From a Photograph by J. Garrigues, Tunis.)

quite as rife as this abuse of patronage, and always will be in the French colonies, where nepotism and knavery are not kept in check by the presence of critics who are not place-men or by voters who have an interest in good government. But there is little of this in any African colony, and none whatever in Tunis.

Order nevertheless prevails where for centuries disorder was endemic. Within a few years of the French occupation, the writer, in journeying between Tripoli and Tunis, passed Arab villages which at one time it would have been impossible for any stranger to visit without the risk of being robbed or, likely enough, of being murdered or enslaved. But the fact of a French garrison being not far away seemed to have imparted a sudden prudence to the

supported by the Bey's permit), is now the only place in the Regency where mosques and other religious edifices can be visited by them. Whatever may be the fanaticism of the people, they are compelled to keep it discreetly in check. Yet it is not many years since a Jewish boy, who had thoughtlessly run into a Tunis mosque after his cap, which an Arab playfellow had tossed through the open door, had to pay with his life for this sacrilege. Men still living can recollect when no person except the Bey could drive in a four-wheeled carriage, and when the Consuls' gigs were expected to halt outside a chain drawn across the palace yard, until Sir Thomas Reade enabled the Bey to take the hint that this would be no longer tolerated without compulsion, by ordering his coachman to drive home if

unable to jump the barrier. Indeed, not far from the Kasbah there was a gate—the Bab es-silsilah—through which, until sixty or seventy years ago, it was a capital crime

in the protectorate. Most public works in Tunis are made with Tunisian money, or, like the cutting of a canal through the shallow lake between Goletta and the capital,



VIEWS IN AN ARAB CEMETERY, TUNISIA.

(From Photographs by J. Garrigues, Tunis.)

are left to private enterprise, warmly backed, no doubt, by Government countenance and concessions. But as yet State assistance of the Algerian kind is unknown. No villages are being created nor immigrants imported, and the natives' land has not been confiscated.

for Jew or Christian to pass. But, with the exception of colossal works which, contrary to formal assurances given to Great Britain and Italy, are being constructed at Bizerta, with the object of making it a second Toulon, little French money is being spent

"In Tunis," Sir Lambert Playfair wrote in 1888—and his words still hold true—"the notion of making northern Africa a continuation of France does not find much favour, and it is felt that to change the protectorate by means of annexation would entail burdens which

neither France nor Tunis could well afford. At present European enterprise is opening Tunis in every direction—European farms are very numerous, vines have been planted for the first time, and the cultivation is rapidly increasing. Some industries have been introduced, the foreign trade has doubled, banks have been established, and public works are being carried on as rapidly as could fairly be expected. Great progress has also been made in education; a number of primary schools has been established all over the country, and a normal college in Tunis itself provides an efficient staff of teachers. Time has also been found for a careful study and a system of conservancy of the ancient monuments with which the country is covered, and public libraries and museums have been founded. A leading feature in Tunisian colonisation is that every

effort is made to extend and improve existing branches of industry, and to make the native producer participate in the change, rather than to strike out new ones entirely by European agency—in fact, to improve Tunis rather than to make it an extension of France.”

All this progress cost France, seven years after the occupation, only £6,000 per annum, the average cost of about thirty-eight Algerian colonists. The Bey receives a civil list of £37,500, and his brother and male relatives about £30,000, out of a revenue of over a million. The debt is more than five and a half millions, but the finances are so well administered that, by making the expenditure less than the income of the State, the burden will before long be lightened. For, in spite of plunder and misgovernment, Tunis is still, as in Tasso's day, *ricca*, if it has no longer any claim to be *onorata sede*.



SIDI ALI PASHA, BEY OF TUNIS.

(From a Photograph by J. Garrigues, Tunis.)

CHAPTER V.

COLONISATION : THE SPANIARDS IN AFRICA.

Spanish Africa in 1884—Spain, Portugal, France, and Britain the only Powers on the Coast who had Survived the Decay of the Slave Trade and the Depression which Followed—The Austrian Experiment—Spain : Why not a Great African Coloniser—Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria—Nibbling at the Morocco Shore—Loosening of her Hold There—Larache—Marmora—Sallee—End of Portuguese Attempts to Gain or Keep a Footing in Morocco—The Spanish Presidios—Ceuta—Convict Life—Renegades—A Convict Corps—Melilla—Its Sieges—Gomera—Its Sieges and Romantic History—The Vengeance of a Wronged Husband—The Turks—A Failure to Recapture by Don García de Toledo—Targa : a Vanished Town—Alhucemas—An Exceptional Post—The Chafarinas Islands—Too Late by a Few Hours—Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña—Ifni—A Forgotten Settlement—The Río de Oro—The Guinea Isles—Corisco—Annobom—Eloby—Fernando Po—Why Spain did not Stretch farther South—Her Hopes and Fears.

OF all the European Powers who in the old fort days had tried their fortunes in Africa, there remained, at the date to which these notes refer, only Portugal, France, Spain, and Great Britain. All the rest had vanished from the scene of their dubious triumphs and unholy gains (Vol. I., p. 51). Dane and Dutchman, Swede, Bremener, and Brandenburger were, by 1884, no more than memories hovering around some ruined castles along the Guinea Coast. As for the adventurers of every Mediterranean nation who, in 1776, settled at Delagoa Bay under William Bolts—an Englishman provided with a charter from Maria Theresa of Austria—they barely obtained a footing. In the course of three years forts had been built and a trade with India begun, when, fever decimating the colony and the Portuguese protesting against what they considered an infringement of their territory, the experiment came to an end. But Spain, though she never bettered her footing on the African shore, clung with characteristic tenacity to what she had acquired in the earlier and more heroic days of the Peninsula.

There was, indeed, a time when Castile and Leon bade fair to be one of the great colonisers of Africa, as she was already Spain in Africa. of America. But, as we have seen, the superior attractions of the New World checked for more than three centuries that enterprise which the Black Continent deserved. From the first, Spain had aimed at seeking compensation for the Arab

conquest of so large an extent of the European side of the Strait of Gibraltar by nibbling at the Moorish shore on the opposite coast. Some of these seizures she still retains. But in the Middle Ages Spain and Portugal held between them, or threatened, nearly all the important ports of Barbary, albeit the proverb, known to every Mediterranean mariner, has it that the only good havens in that part of Africa are "June, July, and August." Independently of what he held for short periods in Algeria and Tunis (pp. 59, 64, etc.), Ferdinand the Catholic captured Tripoli in 1510, and handed it over to the Knights of Malta, albeit the piracy of its rulers compelled half the states of Christendom to bombard that city (Vol. I., p. 239). His Catholic Majesty had also at one time—alone, or as the incumbent of the throne of Portugal—been in possession of nearly every sea-coast town in Morocco. Not to mention those which came to her during the union of the two crowns, Spain, after trying in vain to persuade the Moors to cede it, occupied El-Araïsh (Larache, p. 72) from 1610 to 1689, when she was driven out by Mulai Ismail; though in 1765 France attempted (unsuccessfully) to obtain what her neighbour was unable to hold. "L'affaire de Larache" is still a sore subject to patriotic historians; and Bidé de Maurville's work* descriptive of that disaster had to be

Early conquests in Morocco.

* "Relation de l'Affaire de Larache" (1775). It is not noticed in Thomassy's "Maroc : Relations de la France avec cet Empire" (1859), and is mentioned in the most perfunctory manner in Godard's "Maroc" (1860), p. 551.

published anonymously at Amsterdam. Yet the classical student visits this crumbling town at the mouth of the Wad El-Kus with pleasure, remembering that it is the most favoured of all the candidates for occupying the site of the fabled Hesperides, its orange-groves being the gardens of golden apples and its winding river the serpent which guarded them.

Marmora, or Mehedia, at the mouth of the Sebou, which has now almost silted up the port, was another Spanish town. The Portuguese (p. 15) had seized it in 1515, but suffered a memorable rout at the hands of the Moors. Without counting prisoners—held in slavery—the Portuguese lost 4,000 men, many ships, and stores of every description. Even when Dom Sebastian invaded Morocco sixty-three years later, he avoided Marmora, choosing Azila as the place of disembarkation for the great army which was routed in the Battle of the Three Kings, near Alcassar (p. 85). In 1614 the Spaniards were even more successful, occupying San Miguel Ultramar—as they renamed Marmora—until 1681, when Mulai Ismaïl recaptured it, finding in the town eighty-eight brazen cannon and fifteen of iron, and more ammunition than he had ever owned before. As early as 1260, Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile, managed to seize the afterwards notorious pirate-port of Salée (Vol. I., p. 105), during the slack vigilance of Ramadan, but lost it the same year, and never again obtained an opportunity of retaking it; though many a time subsequently the Emperor of Morocco wished heartily that any Power capable of mastering this rebellious semi-independent town could relieve him of the burden of trying to rule it. Charles I. of England was, indeed, invited to punish them; though he would have been opposed by a host of his own subjects, every Moorish port at that time swarming with pirates of European nationality.*

* In his introduction to "The Adventures of Thomas Pellow, of Penryn, Mariner, Three-and-Twenty Years in Captivity among the Moors" (1890), the author has given some account of these nests of pirates and of the part played by English rovers in Morocco.

But in 1884 Portugal, which at one time lorded it over the coast from Tangier in the north to Agadir, or Santa Cruz, that picturesque hill-town in the south, held not one place in Morocco, and Spain only the presidios, or fortresses, of Ceuta, Gomera, Allucemas, Melilla, and the Chafarinas Islands, just within the boundary-line of Morocco. With the exception of Ceuta (p. 74), which is a considerable town, none of these spots are of any consequence. All of them are convict settlements, though, indeed, the prisoners enjoy so much freedom that criminals may be found, after the easy fashion of the south, living in comparative freedom and prosperity. On the other hand, Ceuta, like all the other prison-places of Spain, is full of horrible tales of the inhuman treatment to which the "presidarios" are at times, and in particular cases, subjected. Still, excepting the "solitarios," Ceuta is the convicts' paradise. The free population is on excellent terms with the bond, if, indeed, the terms are not interchangeable; and, having been used to each other for more than three centuries, they have no desire—at least, those outside the gaols have not—to get rid of their mutual relations. Even while nominally slaves of the State, the Ceuta convicts work under little supervision. "They fetch and carry materials for the fortifications and buildings in progress: they make and mend roads, cultivate the ground, are painters and photographers, shoemakers, tailors, clerks: when admitted to go at large, they take service, become language- and dancing-masters, professors, lecturers in art, science, and philosophy."† In short, as a philosophic Spaniard remarks, there is more than affinity—there is a kind of "organic dependence"—between the free and convict populations of Ceuta. After so many years of a common life, the criminal—that is, the legally branded criminal—element has

The Presidios: Ceuta.

The convicts.

† Griffiths: "The Secrets of the Prison House" (1894), Vol. I., p. 348. This description the writer can confirm from personal knowledge obtained during a visit to Ceuta.

come to be considered indispensable; and it is impossible to conceive how the place could exist without it. Yet it is undeniable that this happy family—and it exists, more or less, in all the other Morocco presidios—behaves itself very well. Some of the most atrocious scoundrels in Spain come and go within the limits of the settlement. And though it may be admitted they are tolerably well looked after—perhaps for that very reason, and the knowledge that they would forfeit their freedom by transgressing the rules—crime is rare in Ceuta. A prisoner now and then escapes and takes shelter among Moors. But usually, in spite of his pretended change of faith, the tribesmen deliver him up, having no great desire to make more intimate acquaintanceship with the kind of “Christian” who finds an involuntary home in a

At one time this was not the case, and consequently Morocco swarmed with renegades who had cast in their lot with the Moors. These were of all classes, from the Duke of Ripperda, a Grandee of Spain, who became Grand Vizier to Mulai Abdallah, to the worst class of convict, who, after the first burst of freedom, would fain return to the companionship of a gaol. In travelling over Morocco the writer has met more than one of these villainous-faced rascals. Never fully trusted by the people among whom they lived, they would creep to the “Cristiano’s” camp after nightfall, afraid of being suspected by their nominal co-religionists, and pour out a tale, of which probably little was true, except their anxiety to get again to a land of civilisation. Yet they could never quite explain how, if their offences were so trifling or of such

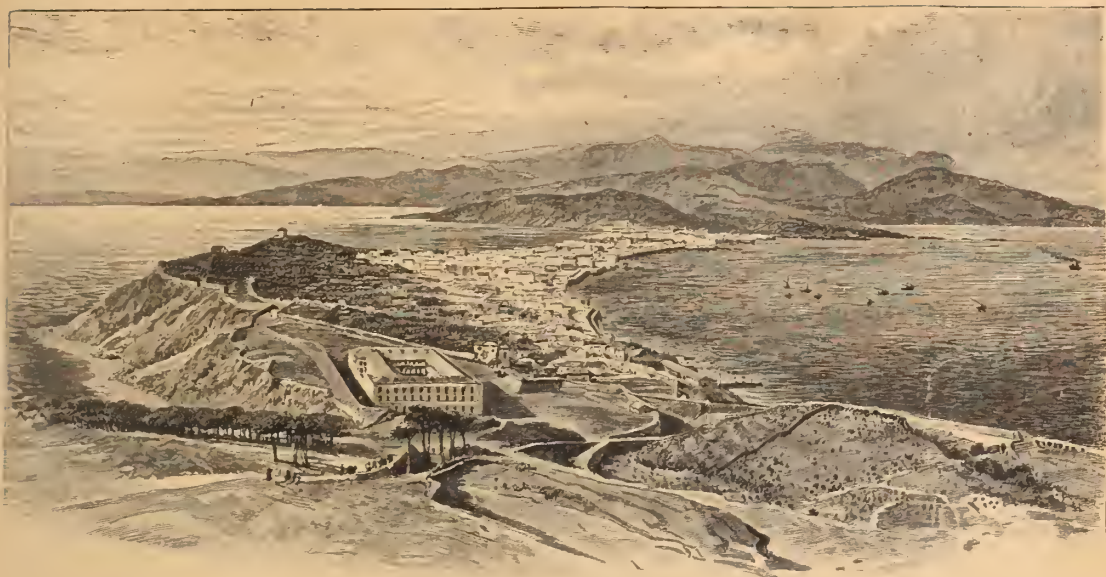


LARACHE (EL-ARAÏSH), FROM THE SOUTH.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Consul H. E. White, Tangier.)

Spanish presidio. Moreover, a treaty between Spain and Morocco provides for the mutual extradition of such unamiable refugees.

ancient date, they could not return with impunity.

Nevertheless, a Morocco coast presidio is by



CEUTA, MOROCCO.

no means quite as charming as prison theorists would have us to believe. Even Ceuta, which is the best of the five posts, is not commended by those who know it best. In a place where a brigand who has killed seven men associates with a murderer who confesses to have taken the lives of four, it is not likely that, especially where so little discipline prevails, crime will not break out at intervals. Some years ago knives were smuggled into the fortress, with the result that the convicts fought and killed each other like wild beasts. The effect of intercourse with such desperadoes is that the moderately bad get worse and the criminally inclined become irreclaimable, though the desire to get rid of some of their punishment may induce them to keep within the bounds of the very elastic prison laws. They were even tried as soldiers in the Melilla "war" against the Riffians in 1893-94. But though the "presidarios" fought ferociously enough, in the hope of being rewarded with some modification of their sentences, the experiment was not sufficiently successful to be repeated after the first day's trial. They enjoyed their temporary freedom, and many of them, no doubt, regarded such a bout of legalised murder as

quite a holiday. But they had also a trick of robbing the dead and liquidating old scores by cutting off a prisoner's ears. So, much to their regret, this extraordinary convict corps was marched back to prison.

The history of Ceuta is the history, more or less, of the other Spanish settlements* in North and North-West Africa. Colonies they are not. Profitable they can never hope to be, and all of them are mere rock-fortresses, inhabited solely by convicts and by those who are charged with their custody or who minister to the wants of the eustodians. Melilla (Mlila)—"the place of honey"—so called from the great quantities of wild bees in the vicinity, is the ancient Rusadir (p. 76). It is one of the oldest of European possessions in Africa, having been a Gothic stronghold at the time the Arabs—or, rather, the Berbers, of whom the army was largely composed—invaded Spain. But the Arabs soon abandoned Melilla to dwell in tents, and it was not until 1496, when the place enjoyed

Melilla.

* Pezzi: "Los presidios menores de Africa y la influencia española en el Rif" (1893); Olivie: "Marruecos" (1893); Perez del Toro: "España en el Noroeste de Africa" (1892); Galindo y de Vera: "Historia vicisitudes y politica tradicional de España respecto de sus posesiones en las costas de Africa" (1884), etc.

a considerable trade with the Venetians, that the Spaniards, under the Duke of Medina Sidonia, surprised and took it. Again and again have the Moors, at the bidding of the Sultans of Morocco, or the Rifians—wild, half-subdued Berber tribes in the mountainous mainland opposite—tried to recover it. But their courage has never met with any approach to success, though some of these attempts—particularly those of 1534 and 1563—were conceived with great cunning and boldness. In 1687 Mulai Ismaïl besieged it, but failed to take the fortress, which is separated from the mainland by a rocky isthmus, in spite of the fact that he had French engineers in his army. Seven years later he renewed his efforts, and, with short intervals, continued a struggle which lasted until near the end of the century, during which period the garrison was often reduced to sore straits for food and water. In 1715 there was another attempt to capture it, and again in 1774,

when Sidi Mohammed, without declaring war against Spain, appeared before Melilla with 30,000 men, under the pretence that, though he was at peace with Charles III. at sea, he was still hostile to him on land. This ingenious equivocation, however, served the Sultan very little; for he had to raise the siege and, as reprisal, suffer a blockade of all his sea-ports, giving out to his people that he had graciously permitted the "Andalous" King to retain Melilla so as not to arouse the anger of his subjects against him. The only result of these repeated assaults was that the fortress always grew larger and

stronger, and its outworks encroached more and more on the mainland. After the war of 1859–60, the treaty authorised the Spaniards to enlarge their boundaries considerably. In doing so they trespassed, in the autumn of 1893, on a Berber burial-ground, with the result that the tribesmen began hostilities, which grew so great that by the beginning of 1894 there were a field-marshal, seventeen generals, and an army of over 12,000 men in Melilla. In the fighting which ensued the

Spaniards were not very successful, and gladly seized the excuse of the Sultan intervening to declare that their purpose had been already served.

But Melilla has, as usual, extended its outworks and become, in the eyes of its owners, more and more suffused with the warlike memories which have in the course of four centuries gathered around it. The treaty of peace decreed a neutral ground on which markets are to be held, and provided that a Moorish garrison is to be placed hard by



SEA-GATE OF CEUTA.

to keep the trueulent tribesmen in order. But, apart from its stirring history, the place is a dull fortress-town, without traffic or the life which traffic brings. Its private dwelling-houses do not number a hundred, the rest of the buildings being prisons, barraeks, public offices, and shops. An occasional ship in the desolate harbour or a few Berbers coming in with stores furnish the sole excitements of the presidio; and, in spite of the sanitary improvements executed at the little stream which falls into the sea a little west of the peninsula on which Melilla is built, the climate is feverish and generally unhealthy, while

earthquakes have at different times proved very destructive.

Next to Melilla, the little town of Badis, or El Peñon* de Velez de la Gomera, is, perhaps, the most important of the minor presidios on the African shore. In the thirteenth or fourteenth century it

Gomera. was a place of some note, the Venetian merchants visiting it, and, still earlier, the Arab historians El Bekri and Abou 'l Feda speak of it as a town furnished with good markets and containing—the best test of its prosperity—even then more than a hundred Jewish houses of business. If the Arab town succeeded the ancient Parietina, the antiquity of this presidio is great even among these sleepy, unprogressive, old-world places, in sight of busy, pushing, living Europe. As early as 1498 the King of Portugal built a fortress called Kala at a short distance from Badis, mainly with the object of keeping in check the pirates of that place. But owing to the difficulty of holding it, the garrison was removed to Ceuta. However, in 1508 Pedro Navarro, the Spanish admiral, having given chase to some Badis pirates, he resolved to end once and for all the mischief they caused by erecting a fort on the islet or "peñon" opposite the town. The Badis people, finding it impossible to take the castle which put them and their operations at the mercy of the "five great cannon worked by thirty soldiers," obtained the help of 2,000 arquebusiers, with artillery, from the King of Fez, and laid siege to the "peñon." Yet the Spaniards fought so vigorously that the attempt to drive them out was abandoned. In 1522, however, the Hakeim of Badis accomplished by trickery what he saw it was vain to do by force. The Spanish commandant

was very avaricious, and listened to the tale of two Moors who whispered to him that they knew the art of transmuting the base metals into gold and coining false money. These men were accordingly installed in the fort, and, passing backwards and forwards to the town, advised the Hakeim of everything that was going on. It is possible, nevertheless, that even then the Arabs might not have succeeded in taking the castle had not a soldier who had been grievously wronged by his master determined to take vengeance by betraying him into the hands of his enemies. Accordingly, by his help and that of the sham alchemists, the gates were opened to the Badis people and the garrison massacred almost to a man. Three years later a letter reached the Captain-General of Granada from "a Christian gunner" who had been kept in slavery by the Moors and is supposed to have been the same man who had betrayed the fortress to the Moors, hinting that on a particular night an attack might be successful. Whether, however, the renegade had repented him, or had tried a double treachery, the plot failed. A fleet duly appeared; but, the garrison having obtained warning of the intended scheme, the admiral sailed back again.

From 1554 till 1563 the fort was in the hands of the Turks, Salah Reis, the Pasha of Algiers, having received it as the price of his services in reinstating Abu Hassan on the throne of Fez. In the year last mentioned the Spaniards made an ill-managed attempt to take the castle; but in the following year Philip II., listening to the entreaties of the merchants whose commerce was at the mercy of the nest of robbers, made a successful attack upon it with 153 ships and 9,200 men under the command of Don García de Toledo, the Viceroy of Sicily. Badis was taken almost without resistance, nearly all of the inhabitants having fled to the mountains with their families and valuables. The artillery was then planted here, and the "peñon" bombarded with such fatal effect that by the 6th of September—four days after landing—the

* "Peñon" means an islet. Badis, the ancient town, is at the bottom of the adjoining bay. The Arabs call it Belis, which has been corrupted into Velez, while Gomera is the name given in the Middle Ages to the provinces of Riff and El Garb, inhabited by the "Ghommera," one of the five great primitive divisions of the Berber race. It extended from the River Muluia to Tangier.—Ibn Khaldoun: "Histoire des Berbères" (MacGuekin de Slane's French trans., 1852-56), Vol. II., p. 134.

gates were open to the Spaniards, in whose possession the fortress has remained ever since. Badis is now almost deserted, and, except that in the vicinity there are forests of good timber, with which the Moors used to build ships, the "peñon" is absolutely without profit to those who so jealously guard what they obtained at so heavy a price nearly four centuries ago, and since that date have more than once had to hold at some sacrifice. The "city" of Peñon, as the Spaniards call it, is composed of two streets on a steep rock, which can be

forms one of the most interesting volumes in the chequered annals of these countries and of the land which they endeavoured so persistently to possess and, had ^{Forgotten conquests.} not domestic troubles and other interests compelled them to dissipate their forces, might eventually have won. But though that ambition has never been absent from the thoughts of patriotic Spaniards, at the time of which we speak they were more anxious to protect their shores and their commerce from Moorish pirates by holding



MELILLA, MOROCCO.

landed on only at one place, passable by a single man at a time, while ashore there are numerous fortifications guarding the Campo del Moro. All provisions for the garrison of 300 men and the 250 convicts are brought from Malaga, and when the cisterns are dry and the hot weather has set in, they have, as in Alhucemas and Melilla, to be filled from the same source. For the Berbers are not to be trusted, and even yet, in more than one presidio, it is regarded as one of the contingencies of "sentry-go" to receive a pot-shot from some facetious Riffian in concealment.*

The story of the vicissitudes of Spain and Portugal along this part of the African shore

their ports than to employ them as bases for inland conquests. Intent on this most reasonable policy—for which Europe owed them a debt of which it is not generally aware—there is scarcely a coast town which the peninsular Powers have not held or attempted to take at some time. There was, for instance, a place called Targa, which, in the Middle Ages, did a great trade in salted fish. It seems to have been between twenty and thirty miles to the east of Tetuan, and was founded by the Vandals. To-day its position can be traced with difficulty, and on most maps it is not placed at all. Yet, in 1493,† the governor of

* De la Primaudaie, *Revue Africaine* (1872), p. 124.

† There is some ground for believing that the Spaniards plundered it in 1481.

Ceuta, learning that it was badly guarded, took the place with 300 prisoners, and burnt twenty-five ships in the roads—a success which cheered King João the Perfect, then sad almost to death over the loss of his only son. Ten years later the Portuguese tried to occupy it, but the garrison defended the place so well that they had to abandon the enterprise. In 1517 a great expedition in

sixty vessels was sent against it; but, the commanders quarrelling over a question of precedence, the entire armament returned to



SNAKE-CHARMERS, MOROCCO.



NEGRO MINSTRELS, TANGIER.

(From Photographs by J. Valentine & Co., Dundee.)

Ceuta without striking a blow. In 1533 the Spaniards sacked it, and in 1568 Don John of Austria meditated a similar exploit. Yet, not long subsequently, we hear of the town, which must have had something better than salt fish to loot, and has now almost vanished, being rebuilt by Mulai Abdallah, and furnished with a good garrison in a strong castle, armed with fifty pieces of artillery, four mortars, and forty-six "falconets" or "arquebuses à croc." Nor was Tetuan (Vol. I., p. 104) for the first time in the Spaniards' hands when it was occupied for two years after the war of 1860.

But at present the only two other presidios in the possession of Spain are Alhucemas and the Chafarinas

Islands. The peñon of Alhucemas is a little island which has an exceptional history, for it was not taken from the Moors, but given to the Spaniards by Mulai Abdallah to prevent its occupation by the Algerines; but it was not finally occupied until 1673. The name is a corruption of El-Mzemma, an old African town, of which only the ruins exist, near the mouth of the Nekor, though its memory lives in Mersa-el-Mzemma, the name applied to the coast in the vicinity. The fortress stands on a lofty rock in the bay, and the garrison usually consists of about two hundred men, though now that the neighbouring Riffians have been forced to abandon piracy, which they carried on to a very late date, the soldiers have little to do in a warlike way. The tribesmen are, however, still untrustworthy, several crews of vessels having within the last few years been captured by them on various pretences and held to ransom (Vol. I., p. 103). Hence, Alhucemas—so called from the wild lavender on the rock—is regarded by the Spanish army as the most detestable of all the presidios, being as dull as the worst and as unhealthy as any.

The three islets lying off the mouth of the Muluia River are the *Tres insulæ* of the ancients, and the Djaferins of the Arabs, a term which has got corrupted into the name Zafarines or Chafarinas. They are bare and barren, supporting little vegetation and almost no cultivation, but afford shelter for ships, and possess a strategic value from their position to the

Muluia Valley and the city of Oran, the capture and occupation of which by the Spaniards forms one of the proudest episodes in the history of that warlike churchman, Cardinal Ximenes. Only one of the three—the Isla de Isabel Segunda—is fortified. For many years, especially during the siege of Melilla in 1774, the Spaniards had frequently cast an eye on the Chafarinas; and the French during the early years of their possession of Algeria had meditated the occupation of this little archipelago. At last, in 1849, the decision to declare them part of Algeria was decided upon. But the decision came too late, or had not been kept sufficiently secret; for when the officers sent by General Cavaignac to perform that act arrived, they were mortified to learn that the Spanish flag had already been floating over them for several hours. As there are no springs on the islands, rain-water has to be preserved in cisterns. But on the mainland there is a good supply, while the channel between the islands and the neighbouring coast is easily

navigated and forms an excellent anchorage, which, with some cost, could be made still better.*

Spain was, nevertheless, not content with owning so many worthless rocks along the Barbary coast. Among other conditions in the articles of peace after the war of 1859-60—which in



WOMAN OF THE COUNTRY AROUND TANGIER.
(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.)

Santa Cruz
de Mar Pe-
queña: Infi.

* Hansen-Blangsted, "Les îles Zafarines, auprès de la frontière de l'Algérie et du Maroc" (*La Gazette Géographique et l'Exploration*, N.S., Vol. XXI., p. 281).

part had been brought about by the disorderly conduct of the Riffian tribes, whom the Sultan of Morocco had no power to suppress—were several granting slight additions to the territory near the presidios. It was also stipulated that Spain should obtain the cession to Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña of as much territory as was necessary to form a fishing establishment such as she had formerly possessed at this place. The difficulty was to know where this place was. There was a Santa Cruz de Cabo de Agua, which is the name under which Agadir was known to the Portuguese; but the other Santa Cruz—"the holy cross of the little sea"—except that it was more southerly, had been forgotten by Spain. It was, however, mentioned in the old chronicles as a small fortified port opposite the Canary Islands, in which the fishermen from these dependencies of Spain took refuge. It was founded in the fifteenth century by Diego Garcia de Herrera, Lord of the Canaries, but had been captured by the Moors in 1524. But his successor, Alonzo de Lugo, considered it incumbent upon him to reassert the Spanish rights to all the western shore of Africa between Cape Ghir and Cape Bojador by re-erecting the "castle" at Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña. Again, however, the King of Fez fell upon it with an overwhelming force, demolished it, and carried the few members of the garrison who did not manage to escape into cruel captivity. In those days many Berbers from Morocco fled to the Canaries from the tyranny of their own chiefs

and the Sultan. These islands, it would indeed appear, had been originally peopled from the opposite shore of Africa, the now extinct natives being essentially Berbers, and perhaps for this reason, or because the refugees were unfriendly to the Moors, they were exempted from the edicts banishing all of the latter race from Spanish soil. When the Moorish pirates became so bold that they sacked Lanzarote, and carried into slavery all the population of Teguisse—the family of the Governor not excepted—the lack of a fortified place opposite the Canaries was much felt. Yet it does not appear that Spain made another attempt, and when the officials appointed to decide upon a Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña came to the creek which they claimed as its site, it was only by a stretch of imagination that the ruins of Don Diego's and Don Alonzo's castles could be traced among the sand which had so silted up the creek that it was (and is) perfectly useless for any kind of craft.

But the position of this old settlement was not arrived at without controversy. There is, indeed,



RIFFIAN BERBER.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.)

quite a literature on the subject. No two authors agreed regarding the locality of the port to be taken possession of, and, just when Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña was in danger of becoming a geographical myth, a Royal Commission fixed, in 1883, upon Ifui, a little north of the Wad Nun, as the long-sought-for locality of the vanished post.*

* Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña was also called "De Mar Menor" and "De Mar Chica"—D'Avesac: "Îles de l'Afrique," p. 163; Perez Del Toro: "España en el Noroeste de Africa" (1892), pp. 153-215, etc.

And in this half-sanded-up creek, on their choice being ratified by the Sultan, the Spaniards make a show of founding a new stronghold on the Moroccan shore. But up to the present date it has not proved of much immediate value, though in the future it may

goes on with much liveliness, it is not likely, in the present condition of affairs, that Spain will profit much from her latest foothold in Africa. Rio de Oro.

Probably, however, the Spaniards look to the future. This seems, indeed, the sole reason why they have founded, still farther to the south, the settlement of Rio de Oro near the haven which, by the help of a sandy peninsula, is formed at this historical spot (p. 3).^{*} A few traders have established themselves at "Villa Cisneros" in the peninsula of Erguibats just mentioned; but it is extremely probable that neither Ifni nor the Rio de Oro would have been occupied had not an English Company founded a post between these two points. As it is, some of the settlers at the latter locality were killed; and, as the harbour is a bad one, it is not likely ever to be a place of much consequence, though, as we shall see, it served as an excuse for the annexation, in the guise of a protectorate, of about five hundred miles of coast from Cape Bojador to Cape Blanco and a large area in the interior.

At this point Spanish interests in Morocco almost end. On the mainland Spain does not now occupy many yards, her possessions being almost entirely insular—Corisco, Anno-

**The Guinea
Isles.**

bom, Eloby, and Fernando Po islands. At the time of which we speak she had some shadowy claims to a considerable stretch of country on the mainland at Corisco Bay; but at present, though Spanish vessels navigate the

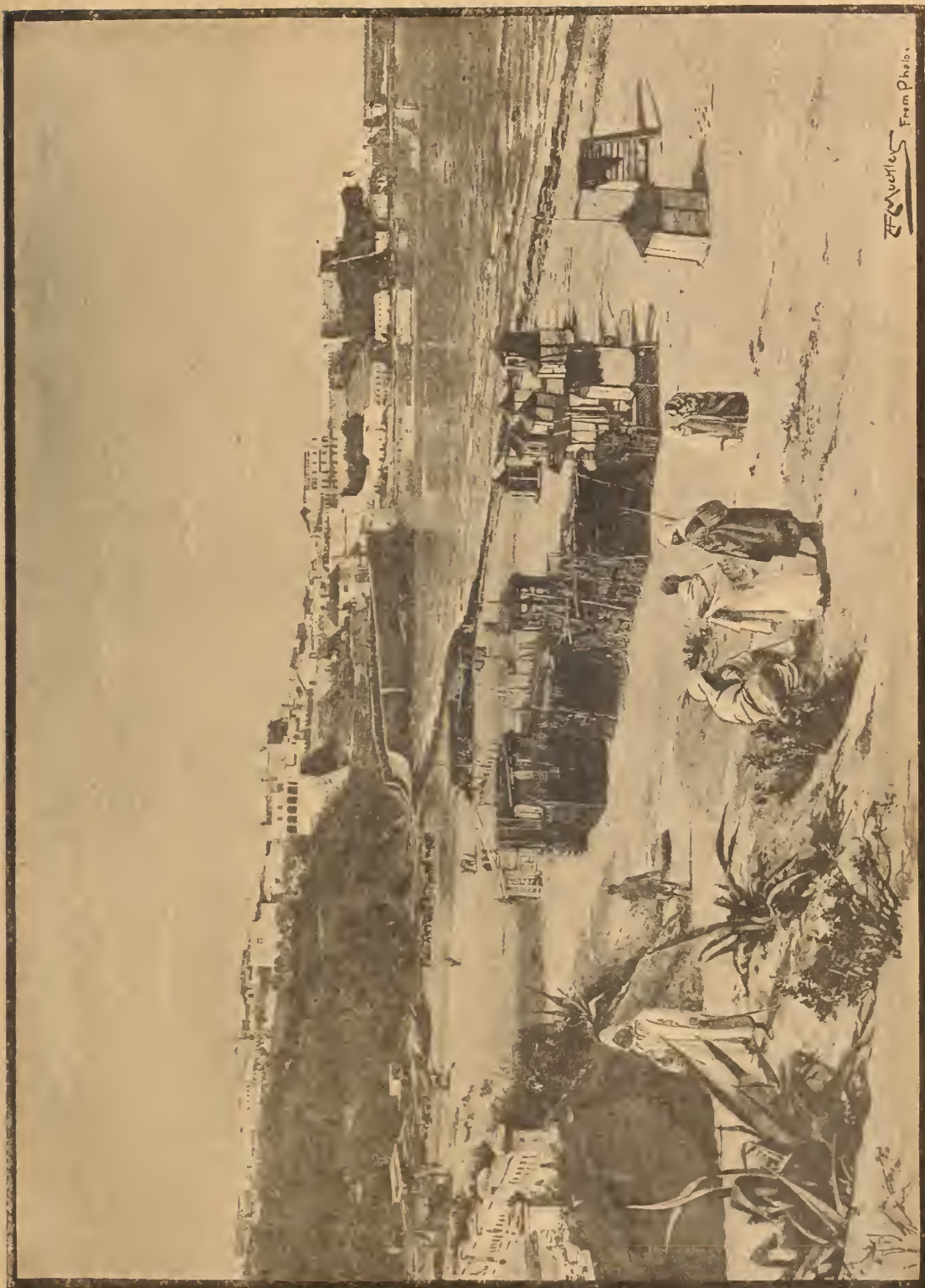


TOWER OF KUTOUBIA (GREAT MOSQUE), CITY OF MOROCCO, SHOWING THE FAMOUS GOLDEN BALLS.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Consul White.)

serve as a basis from which to control the semi-independent tribesmen of the province of Sus. But as the late Sultan began a settlement called Assaka at the Nun mouth—which was one of the claimants for the honour of being Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña—avowedly to checkmate it, by withdrawing the caravans from it and preventing the smuggling which

^{*} At the "Rio del Ouro" the Portuguese seem to have had a factory, which Columbus visited before sailing on his great adventure.



From Photo.

TANGIER, FROM THE BEACH.
(From a Photograph by J. Valentine & Co., Dundee.)

Benito and Mouni Rivers without hindrance, Spain owns only a small patch of land at Cape San Juan. Eight hundred square miles, with a population of 33,000, form about all the territory of His Catholic Majesty in the Gulf of Guinea. With the exception of Fernando Po, none of these places are of any importance. Annobom is, however, a picturesque spot, owing to its well-wooded volcanic mountains, and its area of about six square miles is extremely fertile. The 1,600 negroes who inhabit it profess Roman Catholicism, though their fetishism is not yet extinct, in spite of the island being known to Europe twenty-one years before Columbus discovered America; for it was discovered by the Portuguese on New Year's Day, 1471, and consequently called—after a fashion common among the ancient navigators—"Anno Bom." It passed into Spanish possession in 1778.

It was in this year also that Fernando Po—the most northerly of a volcanic line of islets, of which Annobom is the most southern, and São Thome and Isla de Principe both Portuguese intermediate members—became Spanish, though it was discovered by the Portuguese sailor, Fernão do Po, in 1471. From 1778 to 1782 it was occupied by Spain. In 1827 the British Government formed a settlement on the island, and used its harbour as a station for ships engaged in preventing the slave trade. Its reputed unhealthiness led to its abandonment in 1834, when for ten years it remained masterless. In 1844, however, the Spaniards resumed possession, changing its name to Puerto de Isabel, and have since retained it. But though the island—a mountainous continuation westward of the Cameroons Range—is very fertile, producing all kinds of tropical products, few Europeans have their temporary homes here. The natives—a low-type race of savages called Edeeyahs or Bobies—have never ceased to show hostility to the foreigners, most of whom are half-bred Portuguese, negro slaves freed by the cruisers, with a few more or less official Spaniards and individuals of other nationalities. The Baptist missionaries had also stations here until 1858,

when they were expelled. The island may not be pestilent, but a tropical country in which rain falls from May to December, and is succeeded by dense fogs, cannot be quite the sanatorium its few friends make out.

In 1884, therefore, Spain had not made much progress in gaining a footing in Africa. She had, indeed, actually lost The explanation of an anomaly. ground. Four centuries previously she had fair prospects of becoming the owner of a larger share of Africa than either England or France. But at the time when Portugal was pushing far to the south, Spain was kept busy with the Moors at home and in her ceaseless effort to obtain and keep a hold on the opposite side of the Strait of Gibraltar. The energy of Spain was also effectually quenched by the edict of Pope Martin V., conferring on Portugal the right of sovereignty over all the country that might be discovered between Cape Bojador and the Indies. Add to this the fact of the enterprise of Spain being, before the close of the fifteenth century, diverted by the great discoveries of her mariners in another direction, and we have the seeming anomaly of a land which colonised more than half of the American continent, and had at one time the reversal of Barbary in prospect, owning not one foot of Africa south of the Sahara which she had herself seized or discovered. She has no colonies—only a few forts, convict settlements, and trading-posts. But to the forts on the Barbary shore she clings with a passion hard to understand by those who do not know the hopes that animate every patriotic Spaniard of becoming one day heir to the Sick Man of Morocco. Even after her traders formed posts on the Guinea Coast she had no idea of colonisation in the tropical fashion. These posts were simply shops where slaves were bought for the American plantations; and when the slave trade came to an end the Spanish merchants left and their posts crumbled into dust, and the places they occupied became once more native territory until a more provident race annexed them.

CHAPTER VI.

COLONISATION: GREAT BRITAIN IN WEST AFRICA.

The Picturesque Sides of African Conquest—The Romantic Filibusters of the North—The Echoes of Great Names—Tangier—The English Occupation of it—What Remains of "Tingis Britannica"—Like the Spanish Presidios, not a Colony—The So-called British Colonies in West Africa—The "Old Coaster"—Only Trading Settlements—Why Kept—An Unromantic Story—Gambia—Its Fort and Company Days—Taken Over by the Home Government—Its Vicissitudes—Few Whites, and these Mostly French—Proposals to Transfer it to France—Its Hinterland and the Hinterlanders—Attempts to Make Use of them—Fodi Silah and Fodi Kabah—Bathurst and St. Mary Island—Administration—Climate—Official Optimism—Bulama Island—Sierra Leone—Its Sanitary Disrepute—Reason—General Character—Resources—The Porrah—Tribal Wars—A Failure as a Philanthropical Experiment—Its After History—The Black Man's Paradise and the White Man's Purgatory—Attempt to Develop its Resources—Winwood Reade—Garrett—Hinterlands—Samory—Only Semblance of a Colony—The French and English West African Colonies—A Mixed Stock of Colonists—Gold Coast—Its History—A Fanti Protectorate—Ashanti Wars—Lagos—Its Story—The Jebus, Egbas, and the Back Country—Cape Juby—A Bold Attempt.

WHEN we leave the struggles of the Portuguese and Spaniards in North Africa, we bid farewell to much that is picturesque in the story of the European efforts to gain or to retain a foothold on the Dark Continent. Farther south the game is played on a larger stage, and for stakes more precious than along the Barbary shore. Vast cantles are seized and peopled, and great wealth poured in and out of the rivers which intersect them. Yet every poor castellated rock, over which Moor or Spaniard fought for centuries, has a history infinitely more romantic, and far more inextricably bound up with the chronicles of the Old World, than any of the huge colonies south of Cape Blanco. The story of the one is to the other what that of the Tweed or the Rhine is to the Amazon or the Mississippi: it bears but a poor proportion to the size of its subject. In reading the tale of the presidios, with which so much of the preceding chapter has been occupied, we seem to hear a long roll of drums, a continual fanfare of trumpets, sounding throughout the stately prose of the old historians. We pick our way, as it were, among ramparts and banquettes, and parapets and scarps and counter-scarps. We get quite familiar with Vauban, and Coehorn and Speckle, as we climb the ravelins and bastions, and abattis and lunettes,

with the men-at-arms, and remember how delighted Uncle Toby would have been with the hornworks and trenches, and parallels and escalades, the breaches and the sorties, which form such frequent incidents in this soldierly portion of the African story. Files of bowmen and spearmen, and arquebusiers, are for ever deploying through the pages before us, and it is hard to listen to the drone of the clerks touching Grotius and Puffendorf, and the law of nations, for the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry. The "dignity of history" gets mixed up with mines and countermines, scaling-ladders and forlorn-hopes, the ring of scimitars upon iron caps, and the many-banked galleys manned by evil-faced slaves. Men in mail and men in turbans, brown-skinned Moors and black-skinned negroes, men who fight under the Cross and men who fight under the Crescent, mingle in the turmoil of a hundred battles and sieges and assaults.

And as we read the tale of these early attempts to obtain a share of the land which has been fought for and partitioned since history takes any note of it, we are ever and anon coming upon some famous names. At Ceuta, for instance, we seem to be among familiar friends, when we find that Camoens the poet lost an eye during his service in the garrison, and that

The romance
of the pre-
sidios.

The great
names of
North Africa.

Henry the Navigator was one of the assailants. Count Julian—of many a tale and poem, and painting and drama—was the Gothic Governor who avenged his daughter's wrongs by betraying the fortress to Tarik and his host. Edrisi, the Arab geographer, of the princely line who long reigned in Morocco, was born within its walls, and the Bishop of Ceuta has won for himself an invidious place in history as one of the most powerful opponents of Columbus. At Azamur, Magellan received the wound which led to his leaving the service of Portugal for that of Spain. At Azila and Al K'sar el Kebir—the Alcassar of more than one play and story—we get the last glimpse of Dom Sebastian, and of Raleigh's enemy, Captain Stukely, "wrongfully called the Marques of Ireland." And in Morocco city and Fez we catch glimpses, among a host of swashbucklers and good fellows, of Captain John Smith, of Virginia, seeking, like Dugald Dalgetty, for military service, without caring a stiver for the side on which justice lay. At Algiers we get tidings of many a man

of note toiling at the pirates' oar, or striving to capture their stronghold. Half the heroes in the ranks of the *Conquistadores* of Mexico and Peru were there. But of all the celebrities connected with this part of Africa, none are more interesting than Hernando Cortes, who gave Charles the Fifth "more provinces than his father left him cities," and a certain maimed Spaniard, the slave of Hassan Pasha, the Venetian renegade—one Miguel Cervantes, then only known as a soldier of distinction, at the siege of Tunis and elsewhere. Every crumbling town along the Barbary shores is full of great memories. A volume would not suffice to contain all of them; and were the reminiscences of classical times to include the incidents merely of Carthage and the country within range of it, they would occupy a far greater space than we have at our disposal for the whole of modern Africa.

Nor is Tangier—"the city preserved of the Lord"—without its celebrities. For was not Ibn Batuta, that most inveterate of Arab roamers, born here, and is not Saint Felix among



THE SOKO (MARKET-PLACE), TANGIER.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Consul White.)



AL K'SAR EL KEBIR, MOROCCO.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Consul White.)

its martyrs? And even during the brief period the English occupied it—receiving it because Portugal was tired of holding a place which they left for the same reason—garrulous Mr. Pepys comes within our purview. And though Captain Kirk and his “Lambs” are not quite so romantic as some of the men-at-arms along the Barbary shore, they and young John Churchill, who was learning his trade here, impart a certain literary interest to the most “Nazarene” of all the towns of Morocco.

But with Tangier and its English Mayor and Corporation, almost everything picturesque in the British colonisation of Africa ends. This city—one of the most ancient in Africa—was presented to England as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry on her marriage with Charles II. After twice failing to capture it, Tangier had fallen into the hands of Portugal in 1471; so that when it had to receive new masters in 1662, it was far more a European than a Moorish town (p. 87). For twenty years it was fortified and improved at enormous expense. A fine mole, or breakwater, converted the bay into a good harbour, and English churches and an English cathedral were among the

other buildings erected with English money. But all of the money voted for these purposes did not go into the pockets of the contractors. The place was, indeed, not only a sink for parliamentary votes, but a nest of jobbery. Court favourites were pensioned off as Governors of Tangier, and the Tangier Regiment was a nursery for soldiers of the least loyal faction. Long severed from their native land, its hopes and its fears, men and officers alike grew up, as events subsequently proved, ready tools for any despot in league against its liberties. It was this suspicion and the cost of the place—not its unhealthiness, as Macaulay puts it (for Tangier is a favourite winter sanatorium)—that rapidly abated the enthusiasm with which the acquisition of the new African possession was at first received. Bombay became an English town at the same time as Tangier did. The fate of the two places has, however, been widely different. Yet the hopes of the African seaport growing into a great emporium of commerce were more inflated, and, indeed, better founded, than those based on the future of the Indian

British
Tangier.

town. For the one might have become the outlet for the then exaggerated wealth of Northern Morocco, and from its position played, as one of the wardens of Gibraltar Strait, the same part which the Rock, then in the Spaniards' grasp, served in future years. Bombay, on the other hand, was far from Britain, and so sickly, that three years was regarded as the average expectation of a European life in this poor oriental town of less than 10,000 people. Indeed, so little was it esteemed at the time that money was being lavished on Tangier, that it was ceded to the East India Company at an annual quit-rent of ten pounds. But Bombay is now the second city in Hindostan, and Tangier, though progressing, has probably fewer people than were squeezed within its walls when Lord Peterborough and Captain Kirk ruled it with more or less efficiency. That this was not high may be inferred from the fact that the soldiers were paid in brandy, and had to be drilled early in the morning, because by mid-day—so Mr. Pepys, who saw the last of it in his capacity of Secretary of the Tangier Committee, tells us—they were too tipsy to understand or to obey the orders of their officers (Vol. I., p. 62). So infamous, indeed, were the morals of the place, that the Recorder left a legacy to his servant, but only on the condition that he should not marry "a Tangier woman, or any woman who had ever been in Tangier." Little commerce came into the place except sea-borne cargoes to feed the troops and the citizens; for the Moors hovered round the town, cutting off all caravans entering or leaving it, and more than once inflicting heavy loss on the English troops sent against them. Finally, the Tangier Committee lost patience, and the place of so much expense and so many disappointments was ordered to be evacuated. And this accordingly was done, the fortifications and most of the town being blown up, and the mole destroyed, in order to prevent the pirate fleets from taking shelter behind the barrier, of which the remains can still be seen at low water. Then, as the English passed out under cover of a cannonade from

the fleet of "My Lord Dartmouth," the Moors rushed in; and there they are still, until in the next great European war it will be discovered that Nelson was right when he declared that without Tangier in friendly hands Gibraltar could not be held.

Nowadays, no fragments remain of the outlying forts by which the city was environed. It is hard even to come upon any traces of the English, the kasbah, or castle buildings (p. 89), being mainly Portuguese, though the streets are still, to a large extent, on the same plan as they were during the English occupation. The truth is that the town was virtually a heap of ruins when the last of the Tangier regiments defiled through its sea-gate. Actually the European residents were compensated for the destruction of their houses. But to this day, the descendants of the Moors who fell in these fights with the infidel around Tangier can point out the places where they died. For instance, two miles from the town, near the river of Bubana, there is a spot called Emjahadin—or "Warriors of the Faith"—which is still considered holy ground, as the dead are buried there. Kubas, or cupola-shaped mausoleums, were erected over the bodies of the Moorish chiefs. Most of these tombs have now fallen into decay; but a recent Governor of Tangier restored the building reared over the bones of his ancestor—a Rifian (p. 79) from the mountain clump of El Rif on the Mediterranean shore, as most of the inhabitants of Tangier are. It is also a military tradition that the cymbal-player of the regiment of Guards which took part in the defence used to wear an oriental costume in commemoration of that event. Fifty years ago—and this ends about all the relics of English Tangier now remaining—the late Sir John Drummond Hay found at low water in the ruins of the mole a long rapier, having on one side a "C," and on the other a rose, which, though it had lain so long among sand and salt-water, was sound enough to be used for pig-sticking on the plains of Awara.*

* The history of the city under Portuguese rule is contained in the "*Historia de Tangere*," (1732), by Don

But Tangier was never a colony: it was a place of arms. It was scarcely even a spot for gain: it was held for glory only, whatever may have been the unfulfilled hopes of those who accepted so gladly from the Portuguese what they were so thoroughly sick of as an unprofitable conquest. It was the first and the last attempt of England to obtain a footing in that part of Africa.

Her ambition lay farther south. Yet,

means simply that he has been an old official or an old trader there, and does not convey the same patriotic notion which the man from Sydney or Toronto does when he signs himself an "Australian" or a "Canadian." Indeed, the gentlemen who write wordy letters to the papers in favour of the splendid climate of Freetown, or the pleasures of Accra as a winter residence, and hinting that as they had known "old Coasters" to live for unnumbered



TANGIER IN 1669. (After Hollar.)

even there, the term "colony" is largely a misnomer. It is the official term: yet a colony as an extension of the mother country cannot with any fitness be applied to tropical Africa, where white children cannot be reared, nor white women perform maternal functions, nor white men live for long without serious risk to life. England does not extend into the Gambia swamps or into the Lagos lagoons. Nobody—no Briton—is proud of Sierra Leone, or of the Gold Coast, or claims either as his adopted country. He may describe himself as "an old Coaster." But by this designation he

The West
African
colonies.

Fernando de Menezes, who was its last Portuguese Governor. The chronicles of the English occupation have still to be written. A beginning has been made by Colonel Davis in his "History of the Second Queen's Royal Regiment," Vol. I. (1887), and most of the materials are noted in the "Bibliography of Morocco" (1892).

years in these earthly paradises,* the mortality of both is mainly due to very ardent spirits, are usually Britons only by adoption. For, undoubtedly, in spite of much special pleading and some angry contradictions *pro* and *con*, the West Coast of Africa is not healthy, though, no doubt, exceptional individuals in exceptional circumstances, and with exceptional care, may remain proof against its climate longer than some other individuals. The general character of Guinea has been already described (Vol. I, p. 39).

* Governor Kenneth Macaulay, a younger brother of Zachary Macaulay, resisted the climate for twenty years, and other residents of quite as long a spell might be quoted. The Governors can, of course, command exceptional comforts and sanitary safeguards. Yet in eighty years there were forty-seven Pro-Consuls.—Burton and Cameron's "Africa for Gold," Vol. I, p. 342, and Burton's "Wanderings in West Africa," Vol. I, p. 275.

It is in this hot region, between the Gambia and the Niger, that the British share of the Black Man's Land in this part of Africa is found, though the Niger Territory is not under the Colonial Office, but comes within another sphere of authority, which in due time we shall discuss. There is also at Cape Juby, opposite the Canaries, a patch of land which occupies the peculiar position of being British, and yet is not recognised as such by

up" land in a West African colony—nobody emigrates there with his wife and family; and though we believe even the climate has friends, the present writer, like Colonel Chollop, has still to meet the anchorite—"fever-proof, and likewise agur"—who has returned with the purpose of ending his days in one of them. The white man goes to West Africa to make money, and, if he be wise, leaves it even before he has earned a modest competence.



FÊTE OF MOHAMMED'S BIRTHDAY IN TANGIER SOKO.

Great Britain. But, excluding these semi-independences, the four British colonies in West Africa are the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, and Lagos. They are really great trading settlements—a series of factories and factory towns where goods are sold to the natives, and native products exchanged for money or for money's worth. There is cultivation, of course, a semblance of mining here and there, and the various industries which the wants of a few hundred whites and a few million blacks require. But nobody "takes

This, at least, is the English rule: the French are bad colonists, though when they do love West Africa, they are so much in love with it that they pass half a lifetime without wishing for or needing any change; and the Germans are said to be either as robust or as anxious to make the most of their opportunities. But they are invariably very temperate men, and have "ties" which bind them to the coast.

This chapter has been entitled "Britain"—not the British—"in West Africa;" for though

Britons own a considerable portion of that shore, it is small compared with what they have annexed commercially. In every French, German, or Portuguese settlement there are British traders: and for long the Gaboon (p. 47) was, so far as the commercial houses were concerned, a British colony. Even before West Africa was divided up among European nations, British factories dotted the entire Guinea Coast, so that really Britain

trade a monopoly of the subjects of the particular Power which holds the reins of government. Or, a native chief is inclined to extortion, or to slave-hunting, or is unable to keep order or do justice among the many white or brown or black traders who have purchased from him the privilege of buying and selling in his ramshackle town. The end is that the nation most interested is forced to extend its ægis over the steaming river or



COURT HOUSE AND PRISON IN THE KASBAH, TANGIER.
(From a Photograph by J. Valentine & Co., Dundee.)

had mastered much more than her flag now waves over. It was for this reason she was compelled to take under her protection many spots which, were utility consulted, would be severely left alone. In a British colony anyone can do business with the same privileges as a native. But the moment France or Portugal, or Spain or Germany becomes master, the Customs laws are manipulated so as to exclude the people of any other nation, and even—as in Senegal, where it was proposed to charge the Sierra Leone immigrants with a poll-tax—special laws decreed with the sole object of making the

lagoon where the traders' "factories" have risen among the palm-trees and thatched huts. In this way the British colonies in West Africa have grown. Accident and expediency have been at work in their foundation: the necessity which knows no law has played its part: and though philanthropy cannot claim to have had much say in a country where the earliest settlements were mainly for the purchase of human beings, in one, at least, of the four

colonies the necessity of finding a home for the victims of slavery was the stimulus which led to its foundation.

But though there may be a romance in trade, that picturesque element which is so abundant in the story of Europe in North Africa is sorely lacking in British West Africa. There is not even the briskness and the glitter which we find in the French conquests. What there was died out with the fort traders



JEWESS OF TANGIER IN FEAST-DAY DRESS.

(From a Photograph by G. W. Wilson & Co., Aberdeen.)

(Vol. I., p. 43), if, indeed, there could ever have been much in the traffic of elephants' tusks, the bartering of gold-dust, and the purchase of negroes. Of fighting there has been, and is, plenty. But somehow the West India regiments and the Houssa Police do not possess the same materials for spicing a tale as the Hidalgos who met their doom with Dom Sebastian, or the soldados who scaled the heights of Allucemas.

The Gambia colony began, as did all the early European settlements on the Guinea

Coast, in the trading-posts of one of those great chartered companies the vicissitudes of which have been already traced **Gambia.** (Vol. I. pp. 44-55). The first fort on James Island (Vol. I., p. 164) was built there in defiance of the French and Portuguese, who did not, until the Treaty of Versailles in 1783, recognise the Gambia as a British river.* From that date until the closing of the slave trade in 1807, the factories along both sides of the river did a lively traffic in the staple article of West African commerce. But from 1807, until some merchants from Senegal settlement on St. Mary Island, nearer the mouth of the river, began a legitimate trade in ivory, ground nuts, beeswax, millet, rice, and the other tropical products that have now replaced the former lucrative traffic in "servants," the colony was almost deserted. The company which monopolised its business had long ago evacuated James Fort, and its place was inefficiently supplied by various makeshift forms of government. Down to the year 1843, the Gambia was subject to the Governor of Sierra Leone, and remained so until the readjustment of the West Africa settlements in 1866, when it was merged into the system of that short-lived colonial confederation. After various changes it finally became, in 1888, an independent Crown colony, ruled by an administrator, assisted by an executive and legislative council, consisting of five official and two unofficial members; though, as the latter are nominated by the Crown, it cannot be said that the Gambia colonists enjoy a large share of Home Rule.

But, considering that there are only between fifty and sixty whites—mostly French—and 50,000 natives, according to the latest census, the claim of this swampy area along the Gambia banks to be an outlier of Great Britain is not ethnological. At present the total area of the colony is about 2,700 square miles. But

* Albreda, on the Gambia, was, however, reserved for France, and Portendie, on the Senegal, for Great Britain. This awkward arrangement was continued until 1857, when an exchange of possessions was effected.

while Gambia was annexing British Combo, the Ceded Mile, McCarthy Island, and other unconsidered patches of land, the French were quietly surrounding it, until it is now simply a wedge in the colony of Senegal. It has no back country, and the French are able—and willing—to divert a great deal of the trade which might naturally find its way down the Gambia into their own territory. As it is, nearly all the business of Bathurst is in French hands, and a large quantity of the “French olive oil” is made from the ground nuts shipped from the Gambia. So hopeless are the prospects of a colony thus situated, that in 1870 there was a proposal, which came to nothing, for the transference of the British colony to its nearest neighbours. Again, in 1874–75, the French offered to exchange Bassam, Assinie, and Gaboon for it. But the scheme was bitterly opposed in certain influential quarters, and once more ended in talk; though the bargain would have been a good one for Britain. However, that this will be the eventual fate of Gambia can scarcely be doubted, any more than that the manifest destiny of Portuguese Guinea is to merge into the huge French colony which cuts it off from the interior in exactly the same way that Gambia is kept from the advantages of a “hinterland.” Meanwhile, efforts are made to induce the inland people to come down the river and do business with some of the posts built on its banks and islands. One of the most important of these attempts was made in 1881.* This expedition was under the command of the then Governor, and reached Timbo, the capital of the Futa-Jallon country (Vol. I., p. 223).† Yet, though the party were everywhere well received, the results were disappointing. The country was found to be rather thinly peopled. The largest town—that known as Toobah—had not more than

eight hundred huts, while Timbo, about which there had been almost as many mythical stories as about Timbuctoo, did not come up to the tales which had grown on the way to the coast.

If, however, Gambia has not the privileges of a “hinterland,” it is not without some of the inconveniences that belong to a back country of unknown vagueness. The native tribes—who do not quite recognise engineer-drawn frontiers—are Joloffs (an intelligent race, Vol. III., p. 116), Mandingoes (Vol. I., p. 152), and Fulahs (Vol. I., p. 165), besides a host of pagan folk of less importance, like the Jolah outcasts. The others are Mohammedans, who ruled in days not very remote by their own sovereigns, who were the kings and conquerors of vast regions. Even yet many of the chiefs are potentates on a smaller scale, and, in their capacity as religious leaders, have a mischievous influence over the people under their control. Several of them, like Fodi Kabah and Fodi Silah—Fodi means simply Mahdi, or Defender of the Faith—are slave-raiders and robbers, who, whenever short of necessities, start on a plundering expedition, their immediate followers forcing the terrified villagers to join them. This, in its turn (as in 1894), compels the British Government to suppress them. The dense bush and strong stockades render this no easy task, even when the French do not interpose obstacles in the shape of a veto against crossing the frontier, which, when the robber is not punished by the owners of Senegal, simply acts as an asylum without extradition. Bathurst, the capital (Vol. I., p. 156), though situated on St. Mary Island, is sometimes in danger, though more from the robber chiefs’ friends in the town than from attacks by themselves. For, though it is attached to the mainland by a wooden bridge over the narrow Oyster Creek, the place is well defended, and well-nigh unapproachable by barbarians without armed boats.‡ It may, nevertheless, be well to remember that Oyster Creek is merely

* “Correspondence relating to the Recent Expedition to the Upper Gambia under Administrator V. S. Gouldsbury, etc.” (Blue-Book, 1881)

† This key of the Western Soudan was permitted to fall to France by the delimitation of 1889.

‡ Poole: “Life in Sierra Leone and the Gambia” (1850); Borel: “Voyage à la Gambie” (1865); Ellis: “Land of Fetish” (1883); and Annual Colonial Reports.

a mangrove swamp, fordable at low water, and that St. Mary Island is nothing more than a sand-bank formed by the meeting of the

part of the world, where it is perilous to hint that the salubrity of any particular locality is not all that could be desired. Indeed, it is



CORNFIELD AT IJEBU, NEAR LAGOS.
(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey.)

inflowing tide with the current of the river whirling round a ridge of rock.

A town built on such a foundation—of which its sandy streets are in evidence—cannot be stable. As a matter of fact, some portions of it are really below tide-level, and none of it can be pronounced as healthy as it might have been had James Island been continued in the position of principal settlement. It would also have been safer; for, in spite of water running between Bathurst and the mainland, the tribesmen, over whom the Administrator exercises no effective control, have more than once threatened the place—the last time in 1869, when the arrival of two French men-of-war saved the colony, which had then no garrison for its protection. Gambia is officially described as “only fairly healthy during the dry months”—a moderation in meteorological optimism quite peculiar to this

usually described as excellent, much maligned, or even one of “the finest in the world.” But as every official is entitled to six months’ leave for every year he passes in West Africa, it would be scarcely wise to extol the charms of a country from which he is permitted to live so much away. Certainly Bulama Island, east of the Jeba River mouth, where Captain Beaver established a settlement in 1791, cannot claim any merits on that score. For after nine commandants of the garrison there had died in succession at their post from the effects of the climate, the Government seemed to consider that the experiment had had a fair trial, and the troops were withdrawn. To find a British colony which is not pronounced “the very best climate in the world” is a rarity to the student of official literature. To find one admitted to be unfit for Europeans is so phenomenal, that

Bulama Island has a distinct place in history.*

But however dark—darker than usual—the face of an “old Coaster” may turn as he inveighs against the detractions of the “globe-trotter” with regard to his particular portion of Guinea, he is quite placid when the next British possession south of it is mentioned in terms of contumely. For “Sa Leone” is not loved, and the manners of the somewhat bumptious black men who call themselves Britons are not calculated to win the affections of the white folk with whom they come in contact. Yet, though the sanitary arrangements of Freetown, the capital, and only place of any consequence, have much improved of late years, good

sufficiently merited to cling still to a colony which never deserved it any more than the lands north and south of it.

The approach to Sierra Leone (the “Lion Mountain”) is extremely beautiful, though Freetown (Vol. I., p. 172) is badly situated at the foot of the hills which protect it from the pure south-westerly sea-breeze. The winds generally appear to eddy over the place, while the high ground arrests the noxious vapours of the low lands and the Bulama shore, which is the grand cause of the fevers and malaria for which the land has an eternal evil fame.†



OVENS FOR CURING FISH, ANAMABU, GOLD COAST.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Hallihey.)

water and decent drainage having been introduced, the “white man’s grave” is a name

* Within eighteen months only 117 of Beaver’s original colony of 269 souls survived. Then the island was abandoned, despite its wealth of ground (pea) nuts.

The colony now extends from the Great

† Burton and Cameron: “To the Gold Coast for Gold.” Vol. I., p. 316; Garrett, “Sierra Leone and the Interior, to the Upper Waters of the Niger” (*Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1892, p. 433).

Skarcies River in the north to the Mano River in the south, and for the last century has been annexing and quarrelling with its neighbours over all manner of steaming territory. But when Sierra Leone was first established in 1787, the settlement was of much more modest dimensions, being simply the Timmanees peninsula, on the seaward point of which Freetown is built. Any civilisation is still on the coast, or in the shape of little trading-posts up the rivers which intersect it and find their way to the Atlantic through rich, unhealthy deltas. At an average of from eighty to a hundred miles from the coast the mountains rise abruptly, the intervening alluvial plain being undulating. Much of this land is under water during the rainy season. Commencing on the coast-line, the vegetation consists of a dense, impenetrable bush, with numerous palms and other tall trees. This gradually gives way to places covered with a cane-grass, ten or twelve feet in height, with a few trees (chiefly *Lophira alata*) in the higher portions. Near the mountains, in which the Niger and other rivers rise, the soil becomes darker and much richer; and here rice of a poor quality is prolific, and the tree which yields the kola nuts abounds (Vol. I., p. 129). In the interior there is little cultivation, except for the wild tribesmen's own consumption. Even then they pawn a portion of this to the merchants, redeeming it later with palm kernels, india-rubber, and other products of the country. Ivory and gold come from the far interior. Cassia-wood is found in small quantities. Cotton might be cultivated to any extent; red pepper grows almost without cultivation, and indigo is found almost wild. Yet in a colony capable of feeding the entire west coast, there is so little food produced that Freetown, if shut off from foreign importation, could be starved out in three months. Rice is actually brought all the way from India to England, and then transhipped to Sierra Leone. Instead of working, the wild natives—of whom there is such a multiplicity of tribes that sixty languages are said to be spoken in Freetown—

are fonder of fighting and plundering; so that the necessity of chastising them, and the warriors from the Samory States—one of those rapidly built-up and rapidly disintegrating Soudan empires—who cross from the French sphere of influence, keeps the Sierra Leone police and the West African regiments from rusting.

More powerful than even the "Companies" of the Gold Coast is the "Porrah" of Sierra Leone. In the Mendis country this secret politico-religious society is especially powerful. The novice is initiated in "the Porrah bush" by being taught the pass-words, having a pattern cut in his skin, and being given his "Porrah name." "Wars are waged and stopped," the late Mr. Garrett tells us, "heirs to chiefdoms approved and disapproved, and laws generally are made by the Porrah. Their decision (how arrived at I know not) is implicitly obeyed, and the power of the Porrah is thus despotic and supreme over the whole country." In short, it is to this part of Africa what the Mafia and the Camorra were in Italy.

So long as they behave themselves the Freetown authorities make a virtue of necessity by leaving these barbarous races of the interior alone. Sierra Leone was not founded by the St. George Bay—afterwards styled the Sierra Leone—Company with any imperial objects in view, and the tradition still holds good to a certain extent. It was intended as a place of refuge for negroes freed from slavery, and as such it continued to be until there were no more slaves to rescue. At first its affairs were governed by the philanthropic company mentioned under certain charters and letters patent. And among the earliest superintendents of the settlement was Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian, who has left a graphic account of the plundering of this asylum for the oppressed by the warships of the newly proclaimed French Republic.* Numbers of loyal freedmen from Nova Scotia and Jamaica, including some from the United States, who found their

* Trevelyan: "Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay" (Ed. 1883), p. 11-13.

position in the revolted American colonies by no means agreeable, arrived, and formed the basis of what promised to be a prosperous experiment. And there was something exhilarating in the thought that on the site of what was formerly a Portuguese slave depôt and an English slave-dealing company, the bondman should again enjoy the rights of which he had been so unjustly deprived. However, the murderous attack of the French men-of-war, piloted by American slavers, did the place irreparable injury, and after a time the Company, judging that their Utopia demanded a greater outlay than they could ever expect to see returned, surrendered the colony to the Crown, under which it has ever since remained. A vain attempt was made to introduce white settlers (p. 92), and, until the slave trade ceased, Sierra Leone was used as a place of refuge for the negroes rescued from the captured ships.

The result of this system is that in no part of Africa is there a greater mixture of races, or a greater number of dialects spoken. Nor, as slaves were frequently criminals, sold as a punishment, has the *morale* of Sierra Leone improved by this enforced immigration.

Yet, though one might imagine that here everybody would be pretty much on a level, this is not the case. There are grades in Freetown; for the descendants of the American freedmen look down on the semi-civilised barbarian, while the Timmanee, who has learned to speak a few words of English, despises a "Willyfoss niggah," as the black men who enjoy freedom owing to the exertions of Wilberforce are described in Jamaica, while

all of them treat with supreme contempt the unfortunate white man. For in Freetown it is "white niggahs and black gen'lmen," and the former fares very badly indeed if he treats the impertinence of the latter as it deserves to be treated. For the injured man will hale the white before a black Justice of the Peace, and, fortified with a score of voluble witnesses, lay before His Honour such a tale that nothing save an enormous fine will meet the demerits of the ease.

And as a portion of the



SENATE HALL AND PRESIDENT'S RESIDENCE, MONROVIA, LIBERIA.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halliway.)

fine goes into the pocket of the wronged person, there are—so gossip affirms—citizens of this negro paradise who earn a precarious livelihood by first insulting strangers who come ashore from the mail-steamers, and then levying blackmail on them when they find that they must either lose their passage or pay up. A Caucasian never knows how mean a thing it is to have a white face until he has passed a few hours in Freetown when a moderate percentage of its long-shore population are disguised in ruff.

Yet, though the "Sa Leone" negro is, despite certain improvements of late years, the most insufferably insolent, vain, and arrogant of his species, he is intensely proud

of his nationality. He is "an Englishman." "Hee! hee!" the negro policeman is reported to have shouted through the keyhole to the Frenchman whom he failed to arrest (having been kicked out of the room and the door shut in his face); "Yah! yah! *we* licked you at Waterloo!"

Unquestionably, Sierra Leone is an excellent place—for the negro. Here he prospers

Monrovia, and to Lagos, and is generally remembered after he returns convinced that, though there may be simpler folk in these benighted towns than in the one which has the honour of numbering him among its citizens, there is no place in Africa where the Sa Leonite is so much esteemed as in Sa Leone.*

Still, considering that the site of Freetown was, little more than a century ago, occupied



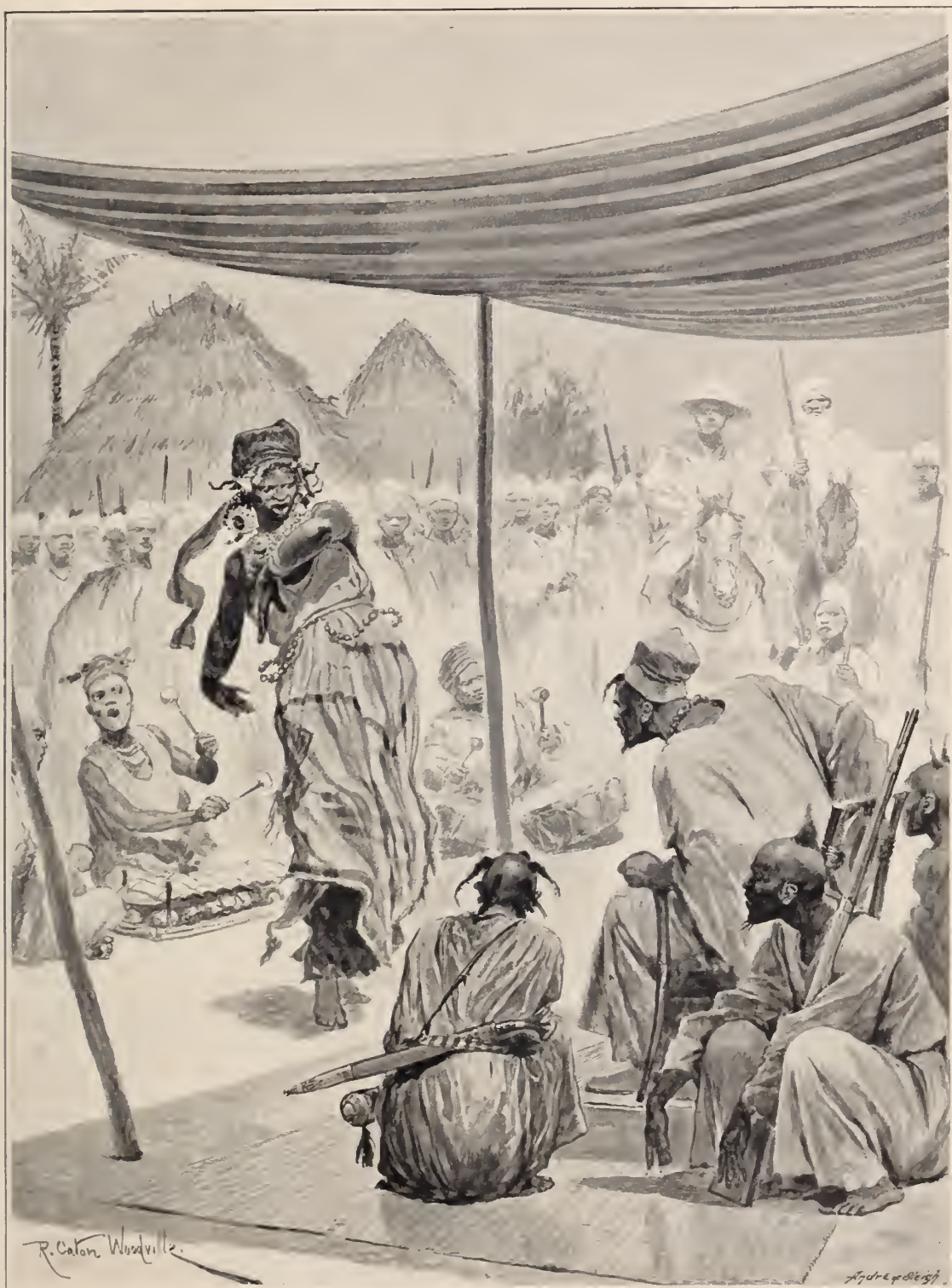
MANGROVE THICKET, LAGOS LAGOON.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Hallihey.)

in a climate which kills off most of his white rivals. He being in the majority—about 360 to 1—acts accordingly, and various religious and philanthropic societies have dotted the place with schools and colleges, and half-finished churches, all much too large, even if Freetown became in actuality what it claims to be by courtesy, "the Liverpool of Africa." It is said that the inhabitants are emigrating to the French possessions because there they are better liked and enjoy greater privileges than in the British colonies. The first assertion we can well believe; the second is incredible. The Sa Leonite goes to St. Louis, as well as to Bathurst, to Cape Coast Castle, to Accra, to

by a settlement of savages, and that the Imperial Government has done little to help the transformation, it is invidious to compare

* Ellis: "West African Sketches" (1881); Banbury: "Sierra Leone" (1888); Lucas: "Historical Geography of the British Colonies; West Africa" (1894), etc. Kunstmann's "Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der West-Küste Afrika's bis zum Senegal, mit einleitung und Anmerkungen" (*Abhand. der k. bayr. Akad.*, 1856); "Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der West-Küste Afrika's vom Senegal bis zur Serra Leoa" (*Ibid.*, 1860); "Valentin Ferdinand's Beschreibung der Serra Leoa" (*Ibid.*, 1861), and the same writer's "Die Handelsverbindungen der Portugiessen mit Timbuktu in XV. Jahrhunderte" (*Ibid.*, III. cl. VI., Bd. I.), are exhaustive on the subject of the early Portuguese explorations, though evidently almost unknown to English writers.



DANCE OF A FEMALE "GRIOT," OR HOLY WOMAN, BEFORE SISSEKAI, A CHIEF OF THE SOFAS.

it with towns that owe their existence to a lavish expenditure of the mother country's coin. Yet no comparison is more common and less just than that of St. Louis, the capital of the French colony of Senegal, with the less pretentious metropolis of Sierra Leone. One

and lined on each side with shops filled with all manner of merchandise, except Manchester "loaded" cotton and the vitriolic gin that form so large a share of the Sierra Leone imports. "Electricity," Mr. Buxton found, "had replaced oil-lamps on the boulevards and in private dwellings; wooden bridges

French and English: a comparison.



CAPE COAST CASTLE.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Holligey.)

of the most recent of these critics, after enlarging on the beauty of Freetown without and its ugliness within, the filthy, grass-grown streets, the lack of sanitation, the drunkenness and depravity of the place—all of which has been loudly denied—paints an idyllic picture of St. Louis (p. 41). From Dakar (p. 40) a railway runs to the town, which is "a beautiful tropical Paris," well laid out with good wide streets, well-kept, well-watered,

given way to those of modern screw piles and iron girders; primitive drainage to scientific, and good water had been brought in pipes from a long distance. Added to this, the whole town was scrupulously clean and sweet. Native women vied with one another in the richness of their many-coloured silk and satin robes; while the men in their flowing bernouses and grand physique seemed to dwarf into insignificance the French Chasseurs. Nuns, with their long lines of neatly dressed negro girl scholars, were frequently

to be seen as they passed to and fro between the convent school and stately cathedral. So, also, the friars with their boys and young men. Although a Protestant, I was cordially invited by the friars to social evenings in their college, where the negro student may attain the highest University education, and, at the same time, become an adept in some useful handicraft. There are good hotels, restaurants, and cafés where the natives mix freely with their rulers, the

must be seen to be believed. It seemed to me an ideal home." The very negroes, who are treated with such contumely in Sierra Leone—when the white man dares—seem, according to this witness, to be regarded as men and brethren in St. Louis. The black suitors are not ruined by black lawyers, sitting bewigged and begowned in a stewing courthouse in the hottest time of the day. Litigation in the African Paris is cheap—without the proverbial sequence to cheapness—and is



COURTYARD OF CAPE COAST CASTLE.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey.)

French, and enjoy themselves with games as innocent as the iced beverages they sip. I never saw the slightest signs of intemperance either in black or white during the whole of my stay in St. Louis. On certain evenings the military band discourses operatic and other music to the gay and picturesque promenaders in the Place d'Armes, where the Governor-General, officers and soldiers, French ladies and native ladies, down to the lowest black, mingle fraternally together, with here and there a gendarme, who is there more for ornament than for use. On a moonlight night, amid the sighing of tropical verdure, gently swayed by zephyr breezes which waft along the murmur of the waves from the distant shore (accompanying, as it were, the melody of the band), there is a charm about St. Louis which

got over by nine in the morning. Everything is bad and dear in Sierra Leone, if the evidence of this semi-official writer is to be accepted without many grains of salt, which residents in the maligned colony affirm to be needed. In Senegal the French govern the country at a cost of 1s. 5d. per head; but it costs the British 10s. per man, woman, and child to do badly what their neighbours do so well. "There are eighty-four salaried officials in Freetown whose aggregate pay amounts to £16,764 15s. 6d. per annum, or 6s. 8½d. per head, plus 3s. 3½d. the cost of six months' leave of absence to England on full pay, with free passage

out and back, which every European is entitled to for every year he serves in West Africa. This enormous expenditure is exclusive of the military, medical, and commissariat departments, which will considerably more than double the 10s. One European merchant in Freetown informed me he paid over £5,000 a year in taxes alone to the Civil Administration. Well, there being a number of other European merchants of the same standing, we find that, together with all the other taxes, licences to drinking-dens, etc., the local Government's annual income is thousands in excess of expenditure, startling as that expenditure is. What becomes of the money? The Imperial Government say that the place is in debt to it. There is a cathedral in the town which cost Government

£8,000 instead of as many hundreds. The natives have the Bishop all to themselves, as white faces are rarely, if ever, seen there. There is also a sea-wall of dry random rubble masonry, built by Government at a cost of £16,000—800 per cent. more than it should have cost.*

And then the Society for the Aborigines' Protection is cited as a proof that this black man's country would be divine except for the violence of the white one's treatment of him. This criticism is quoted less for its fairness than because it is a common stricture not only on Sierra Leone, but on all the other West African colonies. It is true that British rule has not been apparently so successful as that of France. But really, all things considered, it has been amazingly good. To compare a colony so old as Senegal with one so young as Sierra Leone is absurd; while, if the millions which have been poured into the former are compared with the thousands so niggardly spent on the latter, the history of the one is decidedly more favourable than the extremely chequered chronicles of the other (p. 43). Sierra Leone is, indeed, one of the few West African colonies which, even approximately, deserves that name. For immigrants did actually come to it (pp. 93, 101)—the white to die and the black to form the nucleus of its civilisation. It is a Crown Colony in which the officials are not paid by the mother country; and if they are a little dearer than natives would be, that is simply because the higher posts cannot always be filled by them. "These negroes," an acute critic explained (and the remark applies to all West Africa), "are not sufficiently honest: that is, not sufficiently intelligent: that is, are not sufficiently educated to take positions of confidence and trust. Trial by jury in civil cases is at present impossible in Sierra Leone: verdicts would be given and damages awarded according to the nationality and colour of the parties concerned."

We hear—as we hear in every colony—from credulous or interested people of the

"boundless resources" of Sierra Leone; of its astounding but still undeveloped mineral wealth; of its precious stones, and copper and iron workings; and of ^{its potentialities.} the "millions of gold lying buried in the graves of chiefs and others ready for us to get away." For, of course, West Africa is one of the endless places which has put in an utterly unfounded claim to being Ophir and the Land of Sheba. In the meantime, while Sa' Leone lives in Great Expectations, her traders, in spite of their grumbling to all who have ears to hear, manage to get along very comfortably out of the profits of palm-oil and palm kernels, cocoa-nuts, ginger, ground-nuts, benni-seed, india-rubber, gum-copal, hides, beeswax, kola-nuts, and the provisioning of the many vessels that call at the noble harbour of the African Liverpool. And if any of them pay £5,000 a year as taxes to the Government, they may be heartily congratulated on their good fortune. For, as the revenue is almost entirely raised by Customs dues, it is clear that the largest taxpayer is the largest importer, and, therefore, presumably correspondingly prosperous.

But all the sources of Sa' Leone riches come from the interior, a statement equally true of the other West African colonies. Yet the "hinterland" is still to be developed. Inter-tribal wars prevent anything like continuous industry, if, indeed, there is a great deal to be made out of a land described by the officers who have been called upon to penetrate it, as very poor. "The country," writes one of them in 1894, "can barely produce the food required for the natives. The peninsula of Sierra Leone is valuable as a coaling station: but apart from that, the colony is not worth fighting for." Even Sir Francis Fleming, the Governor in 1894, was less enthusiastic than Governors usually are—during their term of office. "The colony is practically hemmed in with France on one side and Liberia on the other. This would be unsatisfactory if it were unable to support itself by means of its own products. Opinions differ as to whether the colony can do this independently of the

* *Daily Graphic*, February 11th, 1891.

trade brought down from the 'hinterland.' My opinion is that Sierra Leone cannot be self-supporting for some time to come; and

who have, however, reduced the "Samory States" to the position of a protectorate. To attain this "hinterland" was, in the old



OWUOLAKON, EGBA TERRITORY, N.W. END OF LAGOS LAGOON.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey.)

the question is whether this hemming-in of the colony will dwarf its prosperity."

Hitherto the particular product of this "hinterland" has been the marauding bands of the Almamy* Samodu,† one of the many

Mohammedan adventurers who have conquered a short-lived empire, and supported it by plundering the countries on its borders. Crossing

from their fortified towns over the Sierra Leone borders in search of slaves and loot, with his "Sofas," or immediate followers, war-like operations have been necessary against him, just as they were rendered imperative, on a larger scale, on the part of the French,

* A corruption of Al Imam, the Leader.

† Or Samory—really Ahmadu.

days of African exploration, the aim of many explorers. Park, in times when all West Africa was still unknown, hoped to reach the Niger in this direction; and Laing, among other travels, began his explorations in the Sierra Leone country (Vol. I., p. 222). Still more recently (1869) Winwoode Read reached the head-waters of the no longer mysterious river by a journey through the colony. A few years earlier this journey would have brought the traveller the geographical fame of which he was in search. It extended from the coast through the Sulima and Sangara country, across the Niger and the Bafi, or Black River (Vol. I., pp. 135, 214), to the Didi gold-pits, at one time worked in the Boure country—for the most part along Laing's track. But West Africa had by 1869 ceased to attract the world: its eyes were in another direction. Since then Major Festing, Mr. Garrett (both

of whom fell victims to the climate); and others have traversed the colony in various directions, on to the upper tributaries of the Niger, with the object of getting the "hinterland" trade diverted in the direction of Freetown. With this object in view, roads have been made between the rivers, and treaties between the chiefs and the Government. The one, however, soon gets overgrown, and the other is speedily forgotten as the gifts received wear out.

Until the native feuds end, or are ended after the French fashion, the country will never have much prosperity. The Sierra Leonite is a born trader. To keep a store is his ambition: failing this, he aims at being a peddler. Even the women yield to the national passion, travelling far into the

And, next to preaching himself, the chief enjoyment of the civilised Sa' Leonite is to hear somebody else preach; which, and the interest taken in him by the philanthropists, accounts for the disproportionate number of churches in Freetown.

When Sierra Leone was founded, the stock sent to form the nucleus of the settlement were not promising. The "Granvilles"—from Granville Sharp—as they were long called, were freed slaves picked up friendless and masterless in England, after the decision in the Somerset case, and did as badly as the incredible folly attending their colonisation could manage. The "Nova Scotians," whose descendants can still be detected by the architecture of their houses, and their dialect, were free negroes, loyal-

A mixed
stock.



THE OLUMO OR SACRED ROCK OF ABBEOKUTA.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey.)

interior to barter their wares with the wilder races, out of whom a better bargain can be made than in the more sophisticated peninsula.

ists or "Tories," who had crossed into Canada on the declaration of American independence, or slaves who had deserted their masters in

consequence of the British Proclamation offering freedom to the runaways. These freedmen were taken over to Halifax; but not finding the climate of Nova Scotia to their liking, they were sent to Sierra Leone. Here, however, they broke into rebellion at finding that they had to pay something in the shape of a quit-tax for their land, and were promptly brought to reason by a fresh arrival of involuntary colonists. These were the "Maroons," or Jamaica negroes with Carib or Indian blood in their veins, who had taken to the bush, and only yielded on hearing that bloodhounds were to be imported from Cuba to hunt them down. Add to this the strange conglomeration of varied negro races landed from the slave-ships,* and the composition of the colonist portion of the Sierra Leonites may be imagined.

That a settlement peopled by so naturally truculent a series of stocks has been so well behaved, is indeed remarkable. A few of the old fighting immigrants drifted into the back country and relapsed into pristine savagedom among their untutored countrymen of that still untamed region. But the rest—perhaps with the exception of the "Granvilles," a handful of whom struggled on against disease and the natives at Fourah Bay—settled down quietly to making a livelihood in the easiest way. This, to the peaceable African, is always trading. He does not toil in the field: his women folk do that. And a taste for agriculture is not one of the inherited traits of the Sierra Leonite. He had enough of cotton-picking in the Land of Bondage: while much robustious talk and swelling diction in his newspapers fills quite appropriately the place which in old times was taken by the assegai and the firelock.

The rise and vicissitudes of the European, and especially of the English, settlements on the Gold Coast have been already narrated while telling the tale of the slave trade and

its fall (Vol. I., pp. 39–78). They originated in posts mainly concerned in the purchase of what grew to be euphemistically called "black ivory" and the precious metal, which the natives brought down from the "hinterland" of the strips of shores to which it has given the name this colony will always bear. Slavery—even domestic slavery—and the slave trade are now mere evil memories. But the gold-dust is still there. It forms, indeed, the currency of the coast, and is a much handier one than might be supposed; long practice enabling a farthing's-worth to be taken up on a knife-point with the greatest exactitude. A series of complicated native weights are employed, and the old cowry currency is getting almost out of use. Indeed, about the only coins the people care to take are bright new threepenny-bits. Even a shilling, or other silver piece, which bears any head than that of the reigning sovereign, is promptly rejected on the ground that "him dead king." And in consequence of a large quantity of new silver having been sent out to the Gold Coast during the Ashanti War, the Fantis have grown more particular than ever.

The Gold Coast.

These Fantis form the chief population of what used to be known as the Protectorate. Britain was compelled to take over the expensively maintained posts immediately along the coast, when the company which had last administered the government found that virtue in the shape of the slave-trade abolition did not pay. But for some thirty miles inland, she tried to solve the problem of keeping every other Power out, and yet shirking the responsibility of being herself in by leaving the government to the native chiefs. But after a great many painful lessons, it was found that a Protectorate was a costly sham, though in familiar parlance the name is still preserved. For the Fantis, emasculated by ages of semi-dependence on the white man, were a feeble folk, while just outside the limits, though by no means respecting the boundary-

* Officially known as "recaptives"—locally as "'cruits," a term about as contumelious as "Willyfoss Nigger" addressed in the West Indies to a Congo or Guinea "recaptive."

line, were a robust race under a king who ruled as well as reigned, and possessed a powerful army to carry out his behests.

These were the Ashantis. Never friendly to the British, or to their protégés, the Fantis, the Dutch found it convenient at a period when they were Britain's chief rivals on the Gold Coast to be on good terms with the lords of Coomassie, the capital of these fierce tribesmen, who played to the white men in this quarter much the same part that until recently Dahomey did to the European colonies on the Slave Coast.

Again and again they crossed into the Protectorate, and in the almost ungarrisoned condition of the castles along the sea-board were for a time the terror of the region England had undertaken to defend. In 1807 they invaded it, and for seventeen years were masters of the Fantis: any attempt on the part of the latter to assert themselves being met by a fresh invasion, massacre, and enslaving until the country was almost depopulated, bush dotted with ruined villages. British interference did not serve any good purpose, and in one of the engagements, the English Governor (Sir Charles Macarthy) was killed, and his skull long preserved in Coomassie as a fetish of uncommon power. His death and the annihilation of the force under him led, in 1824, to a more determined action, in which the Ashantis were defeated. In 1863, a dispute about a runaway slave led to another invasion, during which the enemy did not withdraw until they had ravaged the country and heard of the approach of the West India troops.

In 1873 the Ashanti King, fearing that the surrender of the Dutch forts would cut him off from the sea—a suspicion, it is believed, fomented by some of the discarded Dutch officials (Vol. I., p. 51)—again became disagreeable. But this time he calculated without his host. For Sir Garnet (afterwards Lord) Wolseley marched to Coomassie, fired that blood-stained town, and having completely humiliated King Quoffi Kari-Kari, fined him fifty thousand ounces of gold (some of which he tried to pay in "bogus dust"),* and exacted various other terms very good for the Fantis, and correspondingly unfavourable for him.

Since that date he or his successors have at various times made a show of resorting to their old practices. But they have always thought better of it. Actually, Ashanti, thoroughly shattered in 1873, is now a crumbling Power, and as it decays the Gold Coast colony grows in im-



ACCRA.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Hallihey.)

portance. At first regarded of so little worth that it was, with Lagos, a mere dependency of Sierra Leone, it is now of much greater moment than that portion of African Britain. Its capital has been transferred to Accra, a healthier place than Cape Coast Castle (pp. 97, 98, 103), and at Akropang, the head-quarters of the Basle mission, 1,800 feet above the sea, there is a sanitary station. The "hinterland," from which the colony is not shut off, as are its sister settlements to the

A Black Britain.

* He also sent his "Golden Axe," now in South Kensington Museum. But this, it is said, is an utter imposture. The real "Golden Axe" is too great a "fetish" to be parted with to the Queen or anybody else.

north, promises to be valuable and easily penetrated by the Volta river, M. Bounat in twelve thousand, and the number is not likely to increase. A colony more than two-

thirds the size of England and Wales, it must always, like the rest of West Africa, be a black man's country. Yet its exports increased from £372,000 in 1887 to more than £665,000 in 1892. Its revenue has grown with equal rapidity, so that in 1892 there was—something little known to colonial finance—a surplus of £50,000 in the treasury.



PALACE OF THE ALAFIN, OR KING OF OYO, YORUBA

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey.)

reaching, in 1875, Salaha, a busy town of 18,000 inhabitants, the very name of which had hitherto been little known. Gold is still abundant, and much is brought to the coast, while several European companies are working the deposits, with little efficiency owing to the climate and other drawbacks (p. 21). Ivory, gum-copal, india-rubber, monkey skins, camwood, cotton, Guinea grains, timber, and palm-oil, are other products only exported in quantities after the close of the slave trade compelled the merchants to look out for some more legitimate industry. Out of a population of two millions, there is, perhaps, not more than one European

Telegraphs, telephones, and the parcel post are largely employed, and a railway into the interior is talked of. Coffee is being cultivated, and cocoa is a regular crop. Altogether



THE CHIEF OF ISEYIN, HIS WIVES, AND SUITE.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey.)

the Cape Coast, if not so lucrative to a few people as in the old days, is an infinitely more pleasant home to the natives than at any former period in its history. Missions and schools are, moreover, being encouraged, though most of the natives who are not Moslems—a proselytising faith—are still Pagans of an extremely unattractive order. And,

Sierra Leone, we have seen, began as a philanthropic experiment, which, failing financially, had to be taken up by the Imperial Government and gradually reduced to a more commercial basis. The Gambia and the Gold Coast, on the other hand, were, from the very outset, trading settlements of the most pronounced description,

Lagos.



VISIT OF KROOMEN TO A TRADING-VESSEL.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Hallihey.)

above all, sounder sanitation is giving the Gold Coast a better name in the African bills of mortality. It may be added that as the natives had an inveterate habit of burying their dead under the floors of their huts,* a Fanti dwelling became, potentially at least, about as healthy as a mediæval church.†

* "Domestic Sepulture" is the official term for this repulsive practice.

† Ellis: "History of the Gold Coast" (1893) and the "Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast" (1891); Burton and Cameron: "To the Gold Coast for Gold" (1883); Dalrymple: "Ashanti and the Gold Coast" (1874);

but also being abandoned had to be occupied to prevent them from being seized by foreign merchants more sanguine than the despairing English factors. Lagos,‡ on the

Burton: "Wanderings in West Africa by a F.R.G.S." (1863); Gordon: "Life on the Gold Coast" (1874), and, in addition to current colonial reports, "Medical Topography of the West Coast of Africa" (1859), and "Political Condition of the Gold Coast" (1870), by the late Dr. James Horton, a Sierra Leone Negro of remarkable ability who was well known to the author.

‡ So named by its Portuguese discoverers after Lagos, on the southern coast of the mother country (p. 3).

Slave Coast, had an even less creditable origin, for it had to be put under the British flag simply to prevent English and other traders from utilising the many lagoons and the rivers which empty into them for bringing down and sending off cargoes of slaves. In those days all the coast from Porto Novo southwards was more or less surreptitiously engaged in this traffic, and at every native "town" there resided one or more adventurers who fattened on this illicit traffic. What Badagry was in Lander's time we have already seen (Vol. I., p. 261); and as was this place so were the other villages now under the British flag.

Though the islands of Lagos and Iddo were captured in 1851, they were not permanently occupied until the year 1861, when the capital of the same name was little more than a native town bordered by a mangrove swamp. The contrast which it now presents is sufficiently remarkable to those who remember the place in former days (Vol. I., p. 41). Until 1866 the Lagos settlements, as the areas formally ceded (after a little pressure) by King Docemo* and his chiefs were called, remained as a separate government. Then they were amalgamated with the West Coast of Africa Settlements under a Governor-General residing at Sierra Leone. The Ashanti War of 1874 brought another change. For after this event the Gold Coast Settlements were created into the Gold Coast Colony, and Lagos incorporated with it. But this co-partnership did not last long, the latter receiving, in 1886, a constitution of its own as a Crown Colony. Since then it has been prospering in a modest way, on peppers, ground-nuts, palm-oil, palm kernels, and the usual products of tropical West Africa. Palm-oil and palm-nut kernels form, however, the main portion of its more than half a million of exports. Since 1861 Lagos has been gradually annexing various outlying places—Badagry (1863) on the west, Palma and Lekki (1862) on the east, Katanu (1879), Appa (1883), Malini, Ogbo, and Jakri

(1885), and, besides other places, most recently of all, a portion of the Jebu territory.

These Jebus are a branch of the Yoruba people, farther in the interior, though they did not actually reach the coast until early in this century. The principal trade of Lagos is with the Yoruba country (Vol. I., pp. 256, 260, 261; Vol. III., pp. 116, 117, etc.), which forms its "hinterland." But the Jebus and Egbas have always, more or less, controlled this trade as middlemen (the favourite rôle of the West African Coast tribes), and latterly refused to permit any produce intended for the Lagos market to come farther than Abbeokuta, the capital of the Egba kingdom, or Jebu Ode, the chief town of the Jebus' country. Then the Egbas or the Jebus named their own prices for the palm-oil, or whatever it might be, and the Yorubas were compelled to accept any terms which they could obtain, and were often robbed into the bargain. The produce was next disposed of to a second set of middlemen, who in their turn sold it to the Lagos merchants.† The result was, that whenever the middlemen did not get everything their own way, they "stopped the trade," besides systematically raising the prices in a manner not unknown in countries where a similar kind of political economy is practised in a less blatant fashion. Bargains were made only to be broken by the middlemen. Add to this the disturbance of business caused by a long-standing war between various tribes whose home was along the rivers and lagoons forming the highway to the coast, and the necessity of settling matters on a better basis became evident. The result—after diplomacy had failed and treaties were infringed—was a hostile expedition against the Jebus, which ended, after bloodshed, in the granting of securities for the roads being in future free. The Egbas, who also had blocked the trade route, then surrendered and agreed to the

* His sable majesty received a pension of 1,200 bags of cowries (£1,000) per annum until his death in 1885.

† "Despatch from Sir Gilbert T. Carter, K.C.M.G. furnishing a General Report of the Lagos Interior Expedition, 1893," etc. (Parliamentary Paper, 1893). This document is accompanied by a good map, showing the route of the Expedition to the Niger.

demands of the Lagos authorities. Yet the end of Jebu and Egba does not require a prophet to forecast, though Yoruba, a better and healthier country of prosperous farmers, and the field of old-established Protestant and Roman Catholic missions, is likely to remain independent under the Lagos sphere of influence. This region, of about 25,000 square miles—or the size of Belgium and Holland together—has a population estimated at 3,000,000, which, with the Lagos 87,000—including about 110 whites—forms a good nucleus for the enlargement of this portion of Black Britain. Lagos Harbour, albeit blockaded by a dangerous bar, is the best on the West Coast next to that of Sierra Leone, and its lagoons are a series of peaceful inland waters stretching, with few interruptions, for 500 miles from the Volta River to the Benin branch of the Niger Delta. Indeed, these so-called lagoons of the Bight of Benin form but a small portion of the littoral river systems of West Africa. For from Cape Palmas to Cape Three Points the long Kroo Coast (p. 105) is lined by inland waters for the best part of 300 miles, and beyond the rocky spurs of the beautiful Gold Coast the Dahoman shores have the same remarkable formation.*

Lagos town has now over 40,000 inhabitants, mostly of Yoruban descent, though, as in every West African settlement, there are also large numbers of Sierra Leone, Fanti, and Kroo people, in addition to several thousand Brazilian "emancipados," or free-men. In religion they are divided among Pagans, of the fetish type, and Christians, of a rather superficial order, who profess adherence to the Church of England, Wesleyan, Baptist, and Roman Catholic sects, all of whom have numbers of churches. But the Moslems are also an increasing body, a new mosque or Koran school rising up almost every year (Vol. III., p. 111).

* Millson, "The Yoruba Country" (*Proc. Royal Geog. Society*, 1891, p. 579); Moloney, "Notes on Yoruba, and the Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, West Africa" (*Ibid.*, 1890, p. 596); Halligey, "Lagos, Yoruba, etc." (*Journal Manchester Geog. Soc.*, 1892, pp. 25-44); Burton: "Abbeokuta" (1863); Miss Tucker: "Abbeokuta, etc." (1880).

Cape Juby is a settlement of an entirely different description from any of the preceding. In some respects, indeed, it is not unlike some of the West Cape Juby.

African colonies before they were taken over by the Imperial Government; though again, there is this broad distinction between it and, say, Sierra Leone in early times, that the owners of Juby do not carry on their enterprise under a charter. Officially even, they are not recognised by the British Government, though actually they are, whenever occasion requires, protected by the national warships, and their interests espoused by the British envoys. In short, the nearest approach to the Cape Juby of to-day were the posts which the old West Africa traders held by personal arrangement with the chiefs in whose territories they had planted themselves. Cape Juby (Vol. I., p. 133) is on the north-west coast, on the border of the Sahara, which here reaches the shore. At present it consists of a stone castle built on a ledge of rocks stretching into the sea, and a warehouse on the beach, though a walled village is among the projects of the future. This post was founded in 1879 by Mr. Donald Mackenzie, whose scheme for flooding the Sahara has already been mentioned (Vol. III., p. 92). When he determined on doing so, he asked for the protection of the Sultan of Morocco, but was told that this territory was not under his control.† Mulai el Hassan, however, though trying to avoid responsibility by this equivocation, speedily attempted to annoy the factory in various ways, and was more than once held liable for outrages committed on the occupants of the castle by the tribesmen acting, it is believed, at his instigation, or actually by his irregular troops. The people in the immediate vicinity, mostly Arabs, or Berbers tainted with negro blood, are, however, friendly, and the fort was built by arrangement with the chief; while the Spaniards,

† Cape Nun is acknowledged in an old treaty between Spain and Morocco to be the southern boundary of the latter. But this the late Sultan never admitted.

who were at first inclined to regard it with jealousy, have of late been more amicably disposed. This complaisance is, perhaps, due to the facts that the commercial operations of Cape Juby are still on a modest scale, and that the large-hearted Madrid map-makers have liberally included the British settlement within the area annexed by Spain—on paper. The shelter at this spot is, however, the best on that exposed coast, where for centuries it has been dangerous for vessels to be cast away, the roaming tribesmen invariably seizing and holding them in slavery until ransomed. About sixty miles southwards, the Saghiel El Hamra River reaches the Atlantic. There is a branch of the Wad Draa, which rises in the Atlas, running south, past Tenduf, until, at its widest portion, it is

about three miles in breadth. Cape Juby was founded, like the opposition post established by the late James Curtis at Erkshish, near the mouth of the Wad Gnedir, to intercept the desert caravans on their way to Mogador. To a certain extent this has been accomplished, and gradually a settlement of the natives is forming in the vicinity of the British post. However, the country around is dry and barren, except in spots, where corn grows and cattle and sheep pasture. But unless a good supply of water can be obtained by sinking artesian wells as in the French Sahara, the people must still continue their nomad life. Still, with all the many difficulties it has met, this outpost of British enterprise has a future so certain, that it would be a national loss were it to be abandoned to any foreign Power. It is also so healthy that the Congo State has been considering whether it might not be constituted a sanatorium for that less bracing region.*

* Mackenzie, "Cape Juby, North-West Africa" (*Blackwood's Magazine*, 1889, pp. 412-421).



GRANARIES AT ERUWA, YORUBA.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Hallihey.)



CAPE TOWN IN 1780. (After *Le Vaillant*.)

CHAPTER VII.

COLONISATION: THE PLANTING OF SOUTH AFRICA; THE DUTCH.

The History of South Africa Different from that of the other African Settlements—A True Colony—Its Early History—The Cape Proclaimed British, and the Proclamation Disallowed—Occupation by Jan van Riebeeck and his Dutchmen on behalf of the Netherlands East India Company—An Illiberal Policy and a Grumbling Colony—Native Troubles—Arrival of the Huguenots—Some of their Names—The French Language Forbidden—Its Gradual Disappearance—Continued Discontent—A Paternal Government and its Discipline—Specimens—Native Rights Cease to be Respected, and the Result—The First “Trek”—Life on the Karroo—Extension of the Colonial Bounds Northwards—The Great Fish River Fixed as the Line between the Whites and the Blacks—The Outlying Settlers Left to Defend Themselves against the Natives and the Freebooters—Neglect of Education and the Lack of Meesters and Ministers—Commandoes and Veld-cornets—Atrocities—Rebellion of Burgers and Boers—The End of the Company’s Rule Approaching—The Cape Occupied by Great Britain on a Mandate from the Prince of Orange to Prevent it from being Seized by the French Republic—Its Restitution by the Treaty of Amiens—Rule by the Batavian Republic—Final Cession to Great Britain.

IN the previous chapters we have seen colonies grow up without any common principle stimulating their formation and expansion. Here a trading settlement had to be occupied for the protection of the merchants who had established themselves, or of the natives among whom they carried on an extremely illegitimate kind of commerce. There, another area had to be “taken over” to prevent it from falling into the hands of a rival; or, finally, the dependency which began in a philanthropic experiment was continued as a half-hearted colony. But in no case were these annexes of Great Britain the homes of Britons, or organised with any idea of their

ever becoming portions of Africa where the energies of white men might find free exercise in the direction which they had been accustomed to in Europe. They were dependencies, not colonies, of the Mother Lands whose flags they flew.

In the southern part of the continent we find, however, an entirely different set of circumstances. We see a colony, always essentially one of white ^{A mother of colonies.} men who soon made themselves masters of the Blacks who originally owned it, expanding to the north in the natural manner which every country must, until what were, a few years ago, simply its “hinterlands”

are either fresh colonies which have hived off from it or are absorbed into the parent one of them all. Hence, in this part of the world Great Britain is really not the mother, but the grandmother, of colonies. The old idea of South Africa was that it was simply the Cape of Good Hope, beyond which lay a vague, undefined native territory—still more vaguely described as Kaffirland—"stretching indefinitely northwards."* This is no longer even approximately accurate. The Cape is still familiarly known as the "Old Colony." But beyond, sometimes in lands unexplored, there have arisen colony after colony and state after state until South Africa is really a collection of independent and semi-independent offshoots of the Anglo-Batavian dependency in the extreme south. These are Natal, the Orange Free State, the South African Republic or Transvaal, Basutoland, Zululand, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, South-West Africa or the German sphere of influence, and Zambesia, including Nyassaland, Mashonaland, and Matabeleland. Even then this list does not comprise the Portuguese territories already described, and Walfisch Bay, not to mention Tembuland, the Griqualands, and the other native or Transkei Territories, the last of which is fast approaching the vanishing point: Pondoland, about the sole independent state, being in 1894 absorbed into Cape Colony.

All of these, with the exception, perhaps, of Portuguese South-East Africa, German South-West Africa, Zambesia and Nyassaland, were offshoots of the Cape by a regular process of expansion and hiving-off, which illustrates in an instructive manner the growth of colonies. Even the exceptions mentioned, though they come under another system, were, so far as Zambesia and Nyassaland (British Central Africa Protectorate) are concerned, largely the offspring of Cape influences, and are every year getting more

and more drawn within the circle of Cape Town enterprise. A brief outline of the manner in which these African extensions of Europe grew up may fittingly conclude our sketch of the colonisation of the continent at the time when a fresh stimulus roused all the old energies and brought entirely new ones to bear upon those sections still under their native lords.

Coming from the luxuriant lands farther north, the somewhat bleak appearance of the country around Table Mountain (pp. 109, 116) seemed to have had little The Cape Colony. attractions for the early Portuguese mariners. They did not hear of any gold on the site of Cape Town, and they were eager to push up the east coast to harry the rich Arab towns which lay along that shore. Hence, neither Bartholomew Diaz, in 1486, nor Vasco da Gama, in 1497, planted any settlement on the promontory which in despair they had named "Cabo Tormentoso"—the Stormy Cape. For more than 160 years the only use the Portuguese and other maritime nations put it to was to land at Table Bay to refresh their crews, wearied by long voyages and reduced by the scurvy, which in those days of salt provisions was the constant lot of seamen, even when beer and vinegar were employed in the place of the tinned stores and lime-juice of modern times.

In 1648 Captains Shillinge and Fitzherbert, in command of a fleet of the English East India Company, landed at Table Bay, and formally proclaimed the sovereignty of James I. over the country. But, neither the king nor their immediate masters being impressed with the value of a settlement in this quarter, the patriotic seamen had the mortification of seeing their action disallowed. Yet, curiously enough, in the same year, some seamen of one of the Dutch East India Company's vessels, having been wrecked in the same locality, brought home so lively an account of its fertile soil, fine climate, and friendly natives, that in 1652 the Chamber of Seventeen determined to despatch an

* See an admirable paper on "Southern Africa: Past and Present," by the Rev. Dr. Stewart (*Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1891, pp. 177-91), to which the writer has been indebted in preparing this sketch.

expedition for the purpose of annexing this long-neglected region.

This memorable enterprise was put in charge of Jan Anthony van Riebeeck, a surgeon who had made several voyages to India and the Cape, and proved a staunch and faithful, if somewhat severe, Governor. On the 6th of April his vessels reached Table Bay, and there the foundations of Cape Town and the colonies—shall we say Confederation?—of South Africa were laid in the shape of that inevitable fort which has formed the beginning of all colonisation in the continent. By-and-by the settlers extended their operations out of range of Van Riebeeck's guns. The country was explored; wheat, barley, oats, and maize were planted; vineyards were established on the sunny slopes where they have flourished ever since; horses were brought from Java, and woolled sheep, pigs, and other domestic animals from Europe. Yet as late as 1676 there seem to have been only a garrison and the buildings for housing the soldiers on the site of Cape Town. In Dapper's view,* the only signs of habitation are "the Castle of Good Hope" and two very humble dwellings close by, at the foot of Table Mountain, and a "Little Fort" at the base of the Lion's Head—though neither is as fine as many of the fortresses on the Guinea Coast. Even in Le Vaillant's day, Cape Town seems from his sketch to have been little better than a large village, to which the presence of several windmills imparted a very Dutch appearance (p. 109).

The natives of whom the wrecked sailors had spoken in such favourable terms did not prove quite so pleasant as rumour had painted. For they stole incessantly, and had so little to trade for brass beads, brandy, and tobacco, that expeditions were sent to the north with the object of inducing the tribes that had relations with the Zambesi Basin to desert the Portuguese, of whose cruelties terrible

tales were told in Holland, though, indeed, it was not long before travellers in the Dutch territories had stories quite as gruesome to relate regarding the Hollanders. Still, in spite of these efforts, it seemed as if the Cape colony was to be a failure.

The pioneers who had accompanied Governor Van Riebeeck consisted of about a hundred soldiers and servants. As they had to obey strictly the orders of the Dutch East India Company, they could scarcely be described as free colonists, though, indeed, the possibility of "plantations beyond the sea" not under some company or lord or proprietor does not seem to have struck the minds of the most enterprising for more than a century and a half subsequently. The first settlers were, for the most part, discharged soldiers and sailors. The townsmen were known as "burgers," the farmers as "boers"—two Dutch words which are still in familiar use, though in time the exact signification of the terms has been lost. Preference was given to married men of good character and the Protestant faith, and it was a stringent stipulation that they should reside in the country for ten years, and their children for twenty, so that they might come to regard "Zuid Afrika" as their Fatherland. Freedom of trade was not dreamt of in 1652. Accordingly, a condition even more strictly enforced than the good character of the Protestant colonists was, that they should deliver their produce to the Company for a price to be fixed at the discretion of the buyers. In short, the Company monopolised the importations, productions, and trade of the community altogether for its own advantage.† Any idea of benefiting the settlers was foreign to the instructions of Van Riebeeck. He administered the "plantation" for the benefit of his masters on the principle of supplying their ships

The rule of the Dutch East India Company.

* "Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten," etc. (2nd ed., 1676), p. 260. The same view is to be found in Ogilby's "Africa" (1670), p. 584.

† Noble: "The Cape and South Africa" (1878); "South Africa—Past and Present" (1877); Theal: "History of South Africa" (1878); Wilmot and Chase: "History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope" (1870); Trollope: "South Africa" (1878), etc.

cheaply and plentifully, getting as much profit as possible out of the burgers, boers, and natives; and, with this object, prevented them from engaging in barter with anyone except the Company's officers.

It is, therefore, not surprising to hear that as late as 1670 the settlers who had lands allotted to them on the banks of the Liesbeek River at Rondebosch, numbered only ninety

which they had to sell to the Company. It was idle to protest—as protest they did. For they were told that their remonstrances were full of “sedition and mutiny,” and that, if any such papers were presented to the directors in future, “severe measures would be provided against the same.” As the Company had ample power to carry out their threats—and “severe measures” possessed a vague significance—the colonists who did not choose to submit had no choice but to escape from the country by hiding in the ships which called for supplies. It is, therefore, clear that it was only an optimistic prophet who could hail South Africa at that time in the language of a poet of later date—

“Land of Good Hope! thy future lies
Bright fore my vision as thy skies.”

In the original instructions to Van Riebeeck he was enjoined to remain on good terms with the natives, most of whom were Hottentots, in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town; though not for humanity's sake, but simply to avoid trouble with a savage folk who might fight. The irascible Governor found it rather difficult to carry out these behests of the Company, for he was continually asking for permission to make reprisals against the thieving scoundrels. Their raids in time

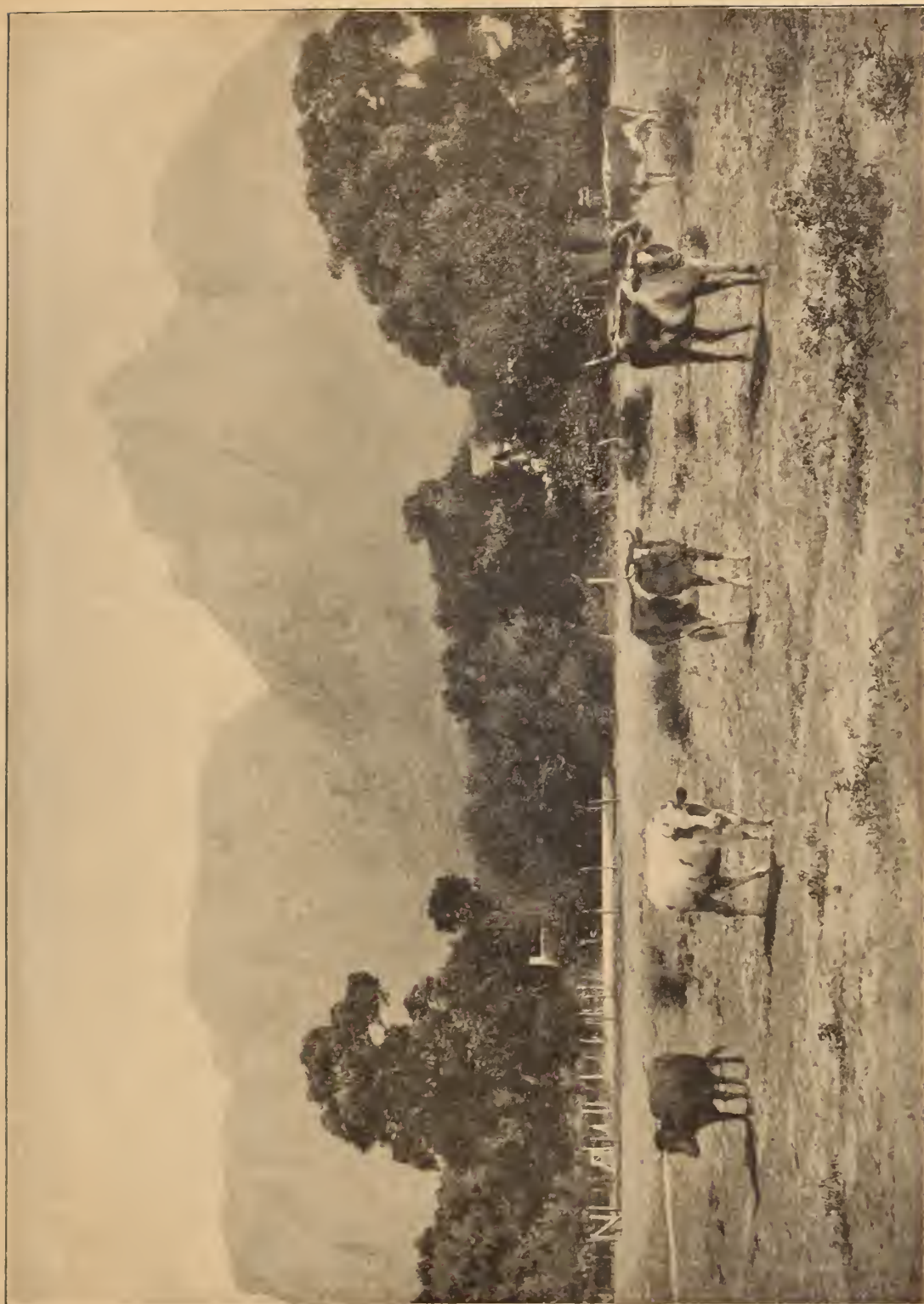
The colonists and the natives.



MAP OF THE PARTITION OF SOUTH AFRICA IN 1894.

men, and that emigrants from Holland other than soldiers and sailors, into whose military and naval antecedents it did not do to inquire too narrowly, declined to leave their homes under any such conditions as those mentioned. For even after the ten years of compulsory residence had expired, the “free burgers” were not only denied the privilege of earning a stiver by bartering with the natives or foreign ships, but were compelled to accept the most unremunerative prices for the stuff

which they had to sell to the Company. It was idle to protest—as protest they did. For they were told that their remonstrances were full of “sedition and mutiny,” and that, if any such papers were presented to the directors in future, “severe measures would be provided against the same.” As the Company had ample power to carry out their threats—and “severe measures” possessed a vague significance—the colonists who did not choose to submit had no choice but to escape from the country by hiding in the ships which called for supplies. It is, therefore, clear that it was only an optimistic prophet who could hail South Africa at that time in the language of a poet of later date—



THE DEVIL'S PEAK, OR WINDBERG (3,315 FT.), FROM RONDEBOSCH, CAPE COLONY.
(From a Photograph by W. H. Woods & Co., Cape Town.)

or a fact at that time, and, indeed, subsequently, unknown in the annals of Europe's dealings with Africa, the district extending from the Lion's Head along the coast of Table Bay, with the Hout and Saldanha Bays, was purchased from the Hottentot Prince, Manek-hagon or Shacher, "hereditary sovereign of the land of the Cabo de Bona Esperança;" and next year a similar contract was made with the sovereign of the "Hottentot's Holland" for the land "round Cape Fals and Bay Fals." In both instances the price paid was "four thousand reals of eight" in goods—in other words, about £10 in gin, tobacco, beads, and so forth. This absorption of native territory has been going on ever since, until now some tribes (pp. 115, 120, 121), at that time distinct in customs and dialects, have disappeared through outrages of the individual settlers, hostilities with the Government, internecine wars, small-pox, brandy, and other concomitants of colonial civilisation.

Free colonists—that is, as free as the colonist ever was under Dutch rule—came in very slowly, so that it was not until 1684 that the first settlers, as distinguished from discharged soldiers and sailors (Dutch, Germans, Danes, and Flemings), arrived from Holland; and not until 1688 that the immigration which has ever since left its mark on South Africa made its appearance. This consisted of two or three hundred French and Piedmontese refugees who, after Louis XIV.'s revocation of the Edict of Nantes, sought an asylum from the Dutch Republic. Governor Simon Van der Stell received the destitute strangers with kindness, and supplied their wants until such time as they were able to find subsistence for themselves. Many of them were vine-growers; others were craftsmen, and nearly all were men of the highest character, whose external piety is still one of the most marked characteristics of their descendants. It was these Huguenot *émigrés* who formed the first real colonists as distinguished from the dubiously good Protestants who had preceded them. Their names

are still among the most familiar ones of the Cape. The descendants of the De Villiers's, Du Toits, Du Plessis', Jourdans, Jouberts, Malans, Fouchés, Le Granges, and a host of others who came about this period, are now scattered throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. At first they were settled along the Berg River Valley, which they soon redeemed from the wilderness and covered with the cornfields and vineyards with which from childhood the majority of them had been familiar. Le Parais, Rhone, Champagne, Languedoc, Le Petit Rochelle, Lamotte, and Normandy continue to this day to be the names of estates in the neighbourhood of Stellenbosch, Wellington, and the Paarl.

Their language was, of course, French—the same French that the Canadians brought to Canada, with, of course, local dialects, as most of the *émigrés* were humble folk of slender literary acquirements. This they endeavoured to transmit to their children. But the Government discouraged the growth of any national feelings among the foreigners, and early in the next century directly forbade its use in all official publications. The result was that French as a spoken tongue scarcely survived to the third generation. By 1752, when the Abbé la Caille visited the Cape, he found that it was on the decline, and that the grandchildren of the Huguenots were becoming amalgamated with their Teutonic neighbours. Le Vaillant (Vol. III., p. 177), less than thirty years afterwards, mentions that he only found one old man who understood French; and by the close of the century the descendants of the Huguenots were only known by tradition and by their Gallic names. Nowadays it is impossible to distinguish a Boer who has the prefix "Du" or "De" to his name from one with "Van" before it. They are all "Dutchmen," though in reality the majority of them are of an entirely different origin.

When the strangers arrived they were utterly destitute; and, indeed, except a minister of the Reformed religion, they brought

The
Huguenot
immigrants.

few remnants of their old homes to their new ones. The Governor of the Dutch Company, however, helped them with a gift of 6,000 rixdollars, and the free inhabitants and servants of the Company in Cape Town made a voluntary collection, each according to his means, in money and cattle, which was distributed among the most necessitous. This liberality they repaid by speedy prosperity and such good conduct that in a few years Jacques de Savoye was appointed to the dignity of "heemsraad," or justice. Nevertheless, the encouragement of industry and the maintenance of public liberty which at that time distinguished the Dutch Republic did not, we have already seen, extend as far as Africa. On the contrary, the villainy of Holland's conduct on the west coast could only be equalled by the scandal of its proceedings in the south. The entire history of the Company's rule is a monotonous struggle on the part of the settlers to obtain some relaxation of the tyranny whereby they were not only excluded from all share in foreign trade, but impeded in the most exasperating manner from carrying on their local business in the manner most profitable to themselves. These rules were especially irritating to the industrious Huguenots, who had hoped that the same freedom which had been extended to matters of conscience would be accorded to their business transactions.

Yet this very illiberality on the part of the Company led to a more rapid development of the country than would otherwise have been the case, and nurtured a trait which in a few generations became hereditary. We refer to the Boers' habit of "trekking" or travelling with the cattle and household stuff out of the reach of any Government they disliked. And, as

the Government "trekked" after them almost as fast as the malcontents "trekked" from it, the result was naturally a swift expansion of the bounds of civilised South Africa; especially as by this time any affectation of respect for the rights of the Hottentots and the still more savage Bosjesmen (Vol. I., p. 29; Vol. II., p. 184) to their native soil had been abandoned by the Dutch Government and settlers. They simply occupied what land they wanted, and took their chance of the former proprietor settling the question of title with an assegai or a knobkerry. The severe—the perhaps necessarily severe—discipline of Van Riebeeck, which made that stern satrap's ten years of rule about as painful to him as to the settlers by whom he did his duty with so profound a sense of the Company's interests, had no doubt been partially modified. We do not hear, for instance, that anyone shared the fate of Volunteer Van Vogelaar, who received one hundred blows of his musket for "wishing the purser at the devil for serving out penguin instead



HOTTENTOT WOMAN.
(After *Le Vaillant*, 1780.)

of pork," though as this untoothsome bird had frequently, in lack of other food, to stave off starvation, the unkindly wish of Heer van Vogelaar must have been often on the lips of more discreet individuals. Nor in spite of evil tongues wagging freely, do the chronicles of the early years of the century succeeding that in which the colony began, contain any record of the domestic libeller having his unruly member bored by a red-hot iron, or even of his purging his offence by begging pardon on his bare knees for slandering the Commandant's wife and other females, with the promise that for the next offence he should not be let off so easily. The early Dutch rule was sternly paternal,

Paternal discipline by a "Dutch father."

The first "trek" and its cause.



CAPE TOWN, TABLE MOUNTAIN, THE LION'S HEAD, AND TABLE BAY AT PRESENT DAY. (From a Photograph by W. H. Pocock & Co., Cape Town.)

the highly respected gentlemen who have been immortalised on the canvases of Rembrandt and Vandyke being by no means more benevolent than they have been painted. Thus, in 1666, two men were flogged and sentenced to work in irons for three years until the majesty of the law, outraged by their stealing cabbages, could be placated. A soldier found sleeping at his post was tied to a triangle and beaten by relays of flagellators; and if the slightest shirking of duty until the turning of the hour-glass by the official "rondegaanger" announced it at an end was detected, the offence was punished with that terrible severity which was the only idea of government entertained by the Commander-in-Chief and his Council.

It is true that life in Cape Town was in those days by no means of the soft description which lends itself to a relaxation of despotism. In the second year of Van Riebeeck's government, it almost seemed as if the lions—now scarce for many a mile from Cape Town (Vol. III. p. 177)—would take the fort by storm. A "wolf"—evidently a hyæna—seized a sheep within sight of the garrison, and "a dreadful ourang-outang"—a baboon, no doubt (Vol. III., p. 167), for the ape mentioned belongs to the Malay Archipelago—was found as big as a calf. To this may be added the frequent scarcity of food, the growing hostility of the half-civilised Hottentots, the discontent of the colonists, and the daily terror of an outbreak of the fierce Guinea slaves, who when the place was no more than six years of age constituted half of the inhabitants. Yet if in 1714 the Government had considered it advisable to relax somewhat the severity of its early rule, the discipline maintained was still so intolerable that many of the free colonists considered it preferable to risk the Kaffirs and the lonely Karroo than remain any longer under the immediate control of the "Neerlantsche Oost-indische Kompanjie."*

Crossing the mountain ranges, they found in the vast plateau which the Hottentots knew as the "Karoo," an alleviation of the oppression they had suffered nearer to civilisation. In these plains there was grass enough for their cattle, and game in such abundance that hunger was impossible, even if life was ruder than in the immediate vicinity of the older settlements. And here the Boer contracted his taste for a huge farm of many "morgen,"† without a neighbour's house in view, for dishes

Life on the Karroo.

* "Dagverhaal van Jan van Riebeeck, le Gouverneur van de Kaap de Goede Hoop (1652-62). Uitgegeven door het Historisch genootschap te Utrecht" (1848). Most of the voluminous literature relating to the Dutch occupation of the Cape is noted in Veth's and Kan's "Bibliografie van Nederlandsche Boeken, Brochures, Kaarten Enz over Afrika" (1876).

† The old Amsterdam morgen—equal to 2·11654 acres—is still the general land-measure of South Africa: and though British money is universal, accounts are often kept in schillings (2½d.) and rixdollars (1s. 6d.).

swimming in fat, and a dwelling with a beaten clay floor, a hide door, and furniture of the most primitive order. And, above all, in the wilds the trekking Dutchman, unlike his brethren who elected to stay behind in the Cape Colony proper, acquired that dislike, not,

licences, revocable at the Company's pleasure—which gave the "trek-Boers" formal permission to occupy any disposable land. This indulgence soon obtained a liberal interpretation, for whenever the farmer found the pasture poor, or the water scarce, or the



CAPE TOWN RESIDENCE OF THE PRESENT DAY.

(From a Photograph by W. H. Pocock & Co., Cape Town.)

as is often supposed, for the British Government as a Government, but for any restrictions and any taxation, which in a greater or less degree has been one of the most salient characteristics of his class ever since. The authorities, finding that this trekking increased the food-supply of the colony, ceased to oppose it. They even issued "loan leases"—squatting

"morgen" unequal to his land-hunger, he immediately yoked his oxen into a great trundling waggon, and with his household gods, his black slaves, or his Hottentots reduced to much the same status, trekked farther and farther into the wilderness until he found a spot where he could "outspan," "offload," and begin his simple life anew.

In this way the boundaries of the colony had by the year 1714 been extended fully five hundred miles from Cape Town, when the authorities, dreading what might happen, proclaimed the Great Fish River the frontier line between the whites' and the natives' territories. At that date the total European population numbered 6,600 men, 1,931 women, and 1,287 children, with a steadily increasing number of half-castes, drifting in an uncertain position on the borderland between savagdom and civilisation.

The colonists were in those days a primitive race. Boldly taking up their residence, a mere handful of farmers amid more than four times as many Hottentots, Kaffirs, and Bushmen, who loved them as little as they could love interlopers who had taken their land, the trek-Boer lived, as it were, with his life in his hand. Yet by firmness entirely bereft of sentiment, and the exercise of self-interest not spoilt by much humanity, he managed not only to hold his own, but to increase his possessions. His existence was easy, if monotonous. Watching the increase of his herds, or the native herdsmen who tended them, hunting for hides or for the table, chastising the natives with an antipathy for working without pay and a taste for beef which was not theirs, added to frequently repeated devotional exercises and much tobacco and coffee, made up the sum of their lives from year to year.

Now and then a "togt-ganger," or trader, would arrive, or, still rarer, a journey would be made to Cape Town or to the nearest frontier post. But the "trek-Boer" having to dispense with society, learned in time not to desire

it. The pioneers of the wilderness had, however, frequent complaints to make of the want of a minister and of a teacher. The lack of sermons was a sore deprivation, even though this luxury could only be obtained by riding twenty or more miles, and the necessity of travelling to Cape Town before the young Boers could be married or the younger ones baptised formed the burden of many of the

numerous wants which, during the entire period of the Dutch East India Company's rule, fell on the deaf ears of the directors. Public education had not been provided for in the plans of colonisation. But though "meesters," in the shape of discharged soldiers and sailors, were sent on loan, the Company's liberality seems to have been abused by Boers who did not care for schoolmasters but were anxious to have a handy man at call. Accordingly, as late as 1793, the applicants were ordered to produce proofs that they really needed teachers, "in order to prevent covetous persons from releasing tailors, shoemakers, etc., under the name of schoolmasters."

Yet a century later the Cape Colony alone was expending nearly a quarter of a million pounds per annum on education.

But, from first to last, the one object of the first masters of South Africa was profit. "The object of paramount importance in legislation for colonies," a Dutch jurist of the time gave it as his matured opinion, "should be the welfare of the parent state, of which the colony is but a subordinate part and to which it owes its existence." And as the Hollanders thought, so thought and so acted every other European Power. These instructions the staunch old governors carried out with strict fidelity; and, considering what they had to endure, the wonder is that the orderly settlers sought no more violent remedy for their hardships than to trek beyond the thrall of Cape Town. A few of the wilder spirits did, indeed, attempt to seek relief in lawlessness. There were the "freebooters," who robbed white and black with perfect impartiality; though, as the latter made reprisals on the settlers, life on the border was attended by proceedings on both sides always violent, and often cruel. The Hottentots, or Khoi Khoi (for the more familiar name is of Dutch origin), soon ceased to be formidable—many of them, weak, scattered, and dispirited, accepting servitude in return for the food and protection afforded them. But in the Bushmen to the north

Government
by a Com-
pany for the
Company.

Discontent
and com-
plaints.

and the Kaffirs to the east—in the hills of the Roggeveld and Nieuwveld, and the Sneeuwbergen, and about the Brintjes Hoogte, Sunday's River, the Bushman's River, and the Zuurveld—the "voortrekkers" or pioneers came in contact with savages of a less tractable type. Against these enemies the Government had no available force to protect the farmer, and to such a condition of anarchy were many of the inland districts reduced, the less patient Boers openly repudiated their allegiance to a Company that either could or would not perform the primary duty of a Government. Compelled to defend themselves as best they could—and the women and children took part in the almost daily hostilities—the settlers organised that system of "commandoes," or levies by "veld-cornets," chosen by the inhabitants of districts not under the immediate supervision of "landdrosts," or magistrates. These forces, summoned in the hour of danger, could scarcely have been expected to discharge their duties very temperately; so that the early hostilities between the whites and the natives were disgraced by atrocities such as have almost invariably been among the incidents of border warfare in every new country.

However, by this time the settlers had learned from long experience that it was idle to remonstrate at Cape Town. For if the memorialists were within reach of the authorities, the chances were that they would either be thrown into gaol or be deported from the colony, or, as a paper relating how wine for which they had been paid from ten to twenty rixdollars the leaguer, was charged 150 to ships' captains, hints, might, in various ways, find their latter end worse than their first.

But the end of the Dutch East India Company, and with it the rule of the land which had permitted it to exercise authority so badly, was approaching.

In 1782 news reached the settlers that war had broken out between England and Holland, and that troops could not be spared for the Cape. Even the specie which had come

in sparse quantities was replaced by a paper currency of little value in the settlers' esteem, so that by 1795, the colony was ready to welcome any master so long as it was not the East India Company of the Netherlands. Some of the more turbulent burgers of Graaff Reinet and Swellendam even went the length of removing the landdrosts from office, and refusing to bear any taxes or quit-rents, on the plea that for twenty-six or twenty-eight years they had been left to defend their lands from the enemy. Even the most law-abiding of the inhabitants demanded a relaxation of the restrictions they had so long been compelled to endure, and, above all, the right of selling their produce in the best market they could find. What might have been the fate of this petition and of the petitioners it is hard to say. But the answer came from the guns of a British fleet in Simon Bay. Holland had been seized by the French Revolutionaries, and the Prince of Orange, who had fled to England, issued an order to the Cape Governor to surrender the country under his jurisdiction to Admiral Elphinstone and General Craig. This he did, after a trifling show of resistance for policy's sake, on the 16th of September, 1795. Some national feeling might, no doubt, have lingered. But after Commissaris-Generaal Sluysken and his Raad Politik or Council had left with their personal property, the universal sentiment among the settlers was one of relief that they were at last quit of the incubus that had so long weighed upon the colony. "A dozen private gentlemen at home, in a back-parlour round a green table," Mr. Noble aptly remarks, "had ruled an empire abroad, commanding their ships of war, their fortresses, and troops; but, although professing to promote the national advantage, they merely tolerated colonisation just so far as they could find an immediate benefit for it to their Eastern trade; and while themselves glorying in the privilege of republican citizenship, they only permitted, 'as a matter

The end of the Dutch Company's rule, and the first arrival of an English garrison.

of grace,' any man to have a residence in the land of which they had taken possession in the name of the sovereign power." Pretty much the same words might be applied to some other potentates with a similar monopoly of trading and political functions in other

inclined to proclaim a little Republic in the Graaff Reinet district for themselves. But a force of British soldiers speedily "took the fight out of them" and peacefully installed the new magistrate in place of the ousted landdrost. Sir John Barrow, who accompanied



ISAAC TIRION'S MAP OF SOUTH AFRICA, IN 1763.

parts of the world. However, we are concerned with Africa alone, and the story of the vicious rule of the Dutch Company is not without its lessons to the experimenters of a century later. In any case, unless the British had arrived, civil war must have broken out, since the thirst for freedom which had made Europe one vast military camp could scarcely have passed over "Zuid Afrika unsatisfied." A few refractory burgers, indeed, still seemed

this force, has left us a graphic picture of the colony at that period,* and of the simplicity of the farmers, their rude plenty, and their almost incredible ignorance of the world without. He also tells us of the difficulties the new Government had in establishing order along the border, of the Kaffir and Hottentot robbers who spread terror as

* "Account of Travels in the Interior of South Africa in 1797-98, etc." (801-4).

far southwards as Outeniqualand—the present district of George—and of the paternal rule of Earl Macartney, “De Oude-Edelman” (the Old Nobleman) of the Boers, who succeeded General Craig. During the six years of the British occupation, a great deal of money was spent on fortifications and other military works, and a large garrison was maintained; so that the settlers had for the first time in their experience an easy sale of their produce, paid for liberally in an undepreciated currency; the only reason for grumbling being that they were still ruled by some remnants of the old Dutch laws. The new rulers were, however, less comfortable, and no doubt were glad when the Peace of Amiens, in 1802, stipulated for the restoration of the Cape to Holland.

During the brief life of the Batavian Republic the colony did not suffer. Honest laws had displaced the autocracy of the old Company, and, under the joint administration of the new Governor and Commissary, a

constitution about as liberal as it was thought good for a dependency to possess was being established when war broke out afresh, and Sir David Baird with a British army in due time made his appearance in Table Bay. This time the British, having seized the Cape without any mandate from the Dutch at home, had to fight the semblance of a battle at Blauwberg. And, having come in 1806 to prevent this half-way house to India from falling into the hands of the French, they came to stay. For nine years the British governed the Cape simply as conquerors. But in 1815, by a convention between the King of the Netherlands and the Prince Regent, the country was finally ceded to Great Britain as part payment for the expense the latter had been put to in defending the Low Countries from Napoleon. At the same time, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice changed masters, and, with the Cape, have remained under the British flag ever since.

The re-
cession to
the Dutch
and its
final occu-
pation by
the British.



HOTTENTOT MAN.

(After Le Vaillant, 1780.)

CHAPTER VIII.

COLONISATION : THE EXPANSION OF SOUTH AFRICA : THE BRITISH.

Early Days of the British Occupation—Dutch Discontent—Despotic Governors—A Kaffir War—Slaughter's Neck—What Brought the Culprits there, and what Came of their Execution—Preparing for the Great Trek—Arrival of British Settlers—Result—The English in the Eastern and the Dutch in the Western Province—Agitation against Autocracy—Inquiry—First Glimmerings of Self-Government—Changes in the Colony—Gradually Becomes English—Hottentots and Slavery—Another Kaffir War—The Glenelg Policy—The Great Trek to Natal—The Republic of Natalia—Troubles with the Cape Authorities, and the Proclamation of Natal as a Colony—Orange River Trek—The Country Seized by the British Government—Boomplaats Battle—The Country Erected into a British Sovereignty—Sir George Clerk's Order to Recede it—Independence Admitted, and Orange Free State Founded—The Transvaal—Andries Pretorius—Kaffir Wars—Strange Movement among the Tribesmen—Progress of the Cape Colony—Roads, Bridges, and Railways—Wine and Wool—Basutos and Basutoland—Something Happens which Gives an Entirely New Bent to South African Colonisation.

THE early years of the British occupation of the Cape were more agreeable to the colonists than to the conquerors. British officials took the place of the Hollanders, though among the minor functionaries there were many of the dominant race. Dutch was the official language; and so few were the English that they were almost entirely confined to traders in the towns or speculators who hoped to do a stroke of business in the "veld." But of settlers—farmers, men who had acquired "a stake in the country"—few were to be found outside the ranks of the old colonists. The Dutch laws were also in force, and, to a large extent they are still the colonial statutes; and, as in former times, what lawyers there were went to Leyden or Utrecht to take their degrees.

But things had changed for the better since the evil days of the Dutch East India Company. The laws were better administered, and the despotism of former rulers was unknown. Expenditure was reduced, taxation readjusted, and commerce free to the extent that every man could buy and sell how or where he pleased. Liberty, as liberty is now understood, was, no doubt, girt around with many restrictions, and some of the Governors, in days when their proceedings could not reach London by telegraph and the slow-travelling deputations got a coolish welcome in Whitehall, were very autocratic gentlemen. One of them, indeed, instituted a censorship of the press, which had now been established and in

its first burst of freedom had begun to mistake licence for liberty. But the Cape could scarcely have expected to be treated more liberally than the mother country where editors lay by the heels for less offences than differing from their masters. On the other hand, the criminal law abated much of its former severity. Trial by torture was abolished: the rack and similar judicial aids were destroyed, and from that day no criminal has been broken on the wheel—a hideous punishment in force throughout South Africa even after it had been abolished in Europe. Money was plentiful, and under this stimulus new life and energy appeared in every direction. A large military force was maintained. These four or five thousand soldiers formed an excellent market for all kinds of colonial produce, and the Governor, with his ten thousand a year, was a functionary who in the early years of this century ruled with appanages and prerogatives a great deal more royal than most sovereigns in these days of constitutional monarchies. His subjects consisted of some 22,000 Europeans and Afrikanders, or natives of the colony, 26,000 slaves (negroes, Hottentots, Malays, and even natives of India), and about 15,000 Hottentots, the Kaffirs and other tribes not being enumerated.

At first the Boers were well pleased at the change; but after a time they relapsed into that constitutional discontent which was to give them and the British

The Dutch and the British.

A Kaffir war.

so much trouble in the future. They did not exactly hanker after the wheel and the rack or the Dutch East India Company. Yet they had become infected with some of the wilder notions of the French Revolution, without imbibing in the progress of time that reaction which at home had quite neutralised Rousseau and the Rights of Man. And, finding that the rule of Earl Caledon and his successors was not framed on any such model, the farmers began to grumble, especially when the Kaffirs in their turn objected to the Boers' habit of trekking into the black men's lands. As early as 1811 there was a neutral zone between the Kaffirs and the Dutch, who had stretched as far as Graaff Reinet, in the hope of both parties to the compact keeping the peace; but in those years, as ever since, the "hinterland" was the constantly recurring colonial crux. For the natives did not recognise the neutral ground when there was anything to steal on the other side of it. The result was the first of the many "Kaffir wars," originating in the order to expel all the tribesmen from the colony and to divide among the white farmers the district of Zuurveld, which they had inhabited by treaty. This order was a breach of faith by the strongest; and in the earth-hunger which stimulated it no quarter was given until the Kaffirs were driven backwards and eastwards across the Great Fish River, and for a time kept there by a line of forts, the present site of Graham's Town being the head-quarters and the Boschberg (afterwards Somerset East) a Government farm for the supply of the troops.

Hitherto it had been the Dutchmen against the Kaffirs. Now it was the turn of the former to feel the strong hand of their new masters. Slavery still prevailed in the colony, and many of the Hottentots were in that condition. When the whites first arrived in South Africa they and the Bushmen were scattered in numerous tribes throughout the colony (p. 120). But between the "Kaffirs," a Zulu race, pouring in from the North-East, and the

Dutchmen creeping in from the sea, the actual aborigines were crushed as between the upper and nether millstones. Under the more humanitarian views which had then begun to touch society, laws were made for the protection of these chattels. All such regulations were stoutly objected to by many of the settlers—including some who were not Dutch—as the height of folly and interference with the rights of property. It was, however, the up-country or "trek-Boers" who found them most onerous and objected most stoutly to obey the new laws. Among these were a party of Boers under a man named Bezuidenhout, who in the fight that followed between them and the authorities was killed. Open rebellion was then proclaimed by his friends, and the Kaffirs were invited to join by the bribe of receiving back the Zuurveld and having the plunder of the loyal settlers' cattle. But Gaika, the Kaffir chief, remarked that, "as sparks were flying about, he would like to wait and see which way the wind blew." And, as the rebels were promptly defeated, several of the ringleaders banished, and five,* tried by a jury of their fellow-countrymen, sentenced to be hanged, the prudence of the savage was fully justified. Slaughter's Neck was selected as the place of execution, and, to impress the rest of the rebels with the magnitude of a crime not hitherto regarded as capital, thirty of them were ordered to witness this vindication of the law.

And the men were hanged not only once for all, but twice; for the gallows broke down, and, in spite of the entreaties of their friends to pardon the culprits, they were revived, and had to wait for several hours until a second gallows was constructed and their sentence carried out. This hideous cruelty, instead of impressing the people, only incensed them, and long after Slaughter's Neck and the horrible scene witnessed there aroused a malignity to British rule which in remote districts has not even yet died out. The friends and followers of Bezuidenhout

* Six were condemned; but one was pardoned.

were among the first of those who "trekked" beyond the bounds of the Cape Colony for reasons identical with those that had driven them into the revolt which, for a time, had terminated at Slaughter's Neck.

And the great trek was not long in arriving.

get as far as possible from the "hangmen of Slaughter's Neck," the elastic line between the whites and the blacks got rapidly shifted to the north and east. By 1819 the Kaffirs had been pushed behind the Keiskamma River into the country afterwards called



LOWER UMGENIE FALLS, NATAL.

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough, F.R.G.S., Pietermaritzburg, Natal.)

Various causes conduced to this exodus of such remarkable influence on the expansion of South Africa. Several of them are not at first sight very evident; others were avowedly at work in fomenting the hatred of British or of any rule that led to the founding of new states or colonies in what had hitherto been the "hinterlands" of the Cape.

Up to the year 1820 South Africa was still virtually a Dutch colony ruled by British

**The advent
of the
British.**

officials, just as are Malta and Gibraltar and Mauritius in much the same position — that is, of the colonists being of a different language and race from their official masters. Kaffir disturbances still continuing in a spasmodic way as the Boers pressed farther and farther into the veld in their bull-dog determination to

British Kaffraria, only to be confined by-and-by within the vanishing area of the Transkei Territory, known as Kaffraria Proper, until it also disappeared from the official map. That, however, was not yet. Meanwhile, the civilised part of the colony progressed, villages sprang up in the desert, and villages grew into towns, with libraries and schools, and public gardens and churches, while the back country extended far away from Cape Town, and the missionaries, with a self-denial very frequently at first more marked than their success from the colonial point of view, followed the retreating savages into the No-man's-lands to which civilisation and their failure to recognise its benefits had driven them.

The Boers had by this time not gained

greatly in the esteem of the Cape Town officials. It was felt that, if the Cape was ever to be a British colony, British settlers ought to people the regions vacated by the Kaffirs and by the Boers constantly trekking from beyond the reach of the law, which had for some years been left unpeopled as a neutral ground—a “territorial vacuum,” as Mr. Noble calls it, abhorred by natives and colonists alike. Fifty thousand pounds were accordingly voted by the Imperial Parliament to plant the Zuurveld (p. 123) with English immigrants. Out of the 90,000 applicants 4,000 were selected, and in 1820 landed at Port Elizabeth, in Algoa Bay, then a mere fishing-village with a military post, 400 miles

vicissitudes, they succeeded in making the Eastern Province as English as the Western Province is Dutch. In addition to these English immigrants—and under English we include Scots and Irish—there came companies of a more select and exclusive kind—“elderly gentlemen of upper-class connections, and retired officers from various departments of the king’s service”—who arrived with small numbers of men under special conditions and engaged for a term of years. But the Anglicising of one side of the colony under leaders



KAFFIRS EATING THEIR “SKOFF.”

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)

beyond Cape Town. In due time the settlers reached their destinations, and, in groups under different leaders, settled in the newly named division of Albany, where, after many

with none of the prejudices and traditions of the Cape, and the Bataviasation of the other side by people imbued with them, and for the most part speaking another language, had for

a time, and has still, a prejudicial effect on the peace of the country. The Eastern Province, full of enterprise and with livelier notions of business than the less commercial, more phlegmatic Western one, objected to the control of the majority in that area, and in time, when the colony got a Parliament, kicked at the notion of sending representatives to be outvoted by Dutchmen who vegetated in an unprogressive existence at the other end of the country.

Reared in a different notion of the prerogatives of government, the new-comers were also among the most energetic opponents of Lord Charles Somerset's censorship of the press, his refusal to sanction any open meetings for the discussion of public affairs, and his resuscitation of dormant Dutch laws to give a legal sanction to these reactionary proceedings. How long this would have continued it is hard to say, had not the deputation which the Eastern Province settlers sent to London succeeded in obtaining a Commission to inquire into the colonial abuses, then laid before Parliament mainly through the exertions of John Fairbairn and Thomas Pringle, two educated Scotsmen,* who had suffered severely from the uncontrolled despotism of the Governor. The result of this successful effort to reach the ear of England, mainly through the new settlers having the home influence which the old ones could not possess, was a notable change in the history of South Africa.

Up to that date the Governor exercised absolute power; and, as the Government functionaries formed a tenth of the free population, it was not only extremely perilous to question the official mandate, but also in the highest degree useless. An Executive Council was now appointed to assist the Governor with its "advicce," which, being interpreted out of "Whitehallelse," really meant to check him by their control. A Supreme Court of

Justice and Circuit Courts were established, and Civil Commissioners placed in charge of divisions and districts, in room of the "land-rosts" and "heemsraads" who had hitherto dispensed rather primitive justice.

Until 1825 all public business was done in Dutch. Proceedings in the law courts were carried on in this language, and, indeed, it was not till two years Anglicising
the Cape. later that Government proclamations and so forth were sent out in English. The tongue of its masters now became, as fast as circumstances could admit, the speech of the Cape, and free schools were opened in all the principal towns, so that the young people could acquire the English language. And this they did, with a Scottish accent, owing to Scotland supplying most of the excellent teachers who were employed to bring about the linguistic revolution.

The consequence is that in the Cape Colony English is now generally understood, though the Dutch still speak their mother tongue among themselves and hold the Lutheran Church services in a language which, we have seen, was not that of some of their ancestors. Yet, though Dutch may eventually disappear from the old colony, it will persist, in a more or less mongrel form, in the more essentially Dutch states to the north. For the Boers fled there before English was generally taught, and now refuse, out of national pride, to use it. Of late the flooding of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State by British miners, and the necessity of employing English in almost every business transaction of any magnitude, has spread still farther the knowledge of it until the "taal Kwestie" is quietly righting itself. The following is an amusing specimen of this dual language—the theme being the not uncommon one of trying to negotiate a little loan.† Two men meet—both born "Afrikanders." The one says to the other, "Wel, hoe gaat het met jou? How does the world use you?" "O, slecht—badly." "Hoe

First glimmerings of self-government.

* They had established a newspaper and opened a high-class school in Cape Town. Pringle was a poet, and through the interest of Sir Walter Scott was appointed Curator of the South African Public Library.

† The example is taken from a recent number of the *Graaff-Reinet Advertiser*. The Dutch is not quite the literary form, and even then rather phonetically spelt.

kom—what's the matter?" "De wereld is duivelsch stingy and suspicious, zy wil my nie vertrouw nie; ni eens een five-pound note of the Cape of Good Hope Bank leen nie." "Ik het jammer ver jou—I'm sorry for you." "Toe dan, help me aan een beetje geld; I'm awfully hard-up." "Kerel, ik het nie a five-pound note nie, zelfs van the Cape of Good Hope Bank." "Well, ik hit hier een klein billetje that ik will discount in the Standard Bank; schryf maar your name achter op." "Nie kerel; ik het gezweer it zal nooit weer myn naam op een bill zet nie; I've had too many losses that way, en de vrouw zeg ik moenie." "Ja, daar het je de wereld just as she is; there's the world for you. Zoo behandelt my de wereld."

With greater light came greater humanity. And among the first changes introduced, mainly through the exertions of **Freeing of the slaves.** Dr. Philip, one of the missionaries among the natives, the Hottentots were, perhaps—considering the haste with which it was done—mischievously put upon a footing of exact equality with the whites among whom they lived. This was not a popular measure among the colonists, especially among the farmers, most of whom were Dutch—a circumstance of which the home authorities were so well aware that the enactment specially stipulated that it should not be competent for any future Colonial Government to rescind its provisions.

Yet, though the semi-civilised Hottentots were, by a stroke of a Minister's pen, created as much the colonists' equals as nature could make them, the actual slaves—natives, for the most part, of the Guinea Coast and the Malay Archipelago—though quite their peers in intelligence, were still in a state of servitude. Their manumission was the next step to be taken. In 1834 the abolition of slavery throughout the British possessions applied, of course, to the Cape also. And, of all the Acts of the British Government, none aroused so much malignity among the colonists, who could not imagine why sentiment should deprive them of a steady supply of labour. The way

in which the compensation was paid incensed them still more. The slaves in the Cape Colony numbered 35,745, and were valued by their owners at £3,000,000. But as only £20,000,000 had been voted for the purpose of compensation, the full value could not be paid in the Cape any more than in any other dependency. Even of the £1,200,000 which was the Cape's proportion of the Parliamentary grant a large portion never reached the hands of those entitled to it. The amounts were payable in London, so that many of the simple farmers, who were the principal slave-owners, were victimised by the agents whom they had to employ. Indeed, to such an insignificant sum did the compensation dwindle, after fraudulent factors had their will of it in the shape of discount and commissions, that some of the Dutchmen refused to accept the paltry balance. Others, regarding the whole business as a mere swindle, declined to sign the necessary papers. So that at the present moment, unclaimed compensation to the amount of £5,000 lies in the hands of Government. Just then, when their hearts were full of bitterness to England and Englishmen, the whole border was overrun by wild Kaffirs. Again and again the settlers had complained of the savage raiders without obtaining any redress; until hundreds of farm-houses were burned and property to a large amount was stolen or destroyed, before the tribesmen could be subjugated and the colonial bounds extended to the Kei River.

At the same time, the Ama-fingo, a Zulu tribe numbering 16,000, were released from their servitude in Kaffirland and settled in the Eastern Province, where they still furnish the principal supply of labour.

But now, not for the first time and not for the last, the cautious home authorities stepped in to check the active policy of the colonial ones. In- **The Glenelg policy.** deed, from that day to this, the relation of the Cape to the mother country has almost invariably been that of the one pressing forwards and the other pulling back. Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the

Colonies, refused to homologate Sir Benjamin Durban the Cape Governor's orders. He declared, indeed (with an unction which would now be characterised as "of Exeter Hall"), that the Kaffirs were quite justified in taking to arms, that the chiefs and people should renounce their allegiance, and the limits of colonial authority be moved back to the thickets of the Great Fish River, where they had been

began in 1835, soon after the liberation had been decreed.*

During the next two years this strange exodus continued, the number of people who voluntarily expatriated themselves being roughly estimated at between five and six thousand. ^{The first great "trek."} The movement was, however, no sudden resolution. It had been discussed for years before the



ZULU KRAAL.

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)

fixed in 1819. This well-meaning but mischievous meddling had its natural effect upon a people already smarting from losses by the war of which the results were thus torn from them, and from the causes already mentioned. Then, brooding over their wrongs, they determined to trek north with their cattle and waggons, and possibly, also, with such slaves as had as yet escaped the hands of the manumitters. For the negroes were not finally freed until 1838, while the first great trek

"trek" actually began. But, once the example was set by the leading spirits, something as like a panic as a Cape Boer is capable of took possession of the people. Prosperous farmers sold their lands for what they would bring in the circumstances of a forced sale. Many a good estate, Mr. Noble tells us, was exchanged for a waggon and a team of oxen, and some went for even a less price—for anything, indeed, so long as the owner could get

* An apprenticeship of four years was allowed.



ZULU WOMEN: NATAL.
(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Fennehough, F.R.G.S., Pietermaritzburg.)

F. & M. Photo.

off to the country north of the Orange River.

These "emigrant farmers" were met by Harris on his hunting expedition, full of wrath against England and the English (Vol. III., p. 199), and full also of the courage which their adventurous journey demanded. In 1837 they were joined by Pieter Retief, a descendant of one of the most respectable Huguenot families, under whose leadership they recrossed the Drakensberg, and entered the region now known as the colony of Natal. Here they were attacked and many of them massacred by Dingaan, the famous Zulu king, just as on their way north they had suffered from the animosity of Moselikatse. But his victory was of short duration; for, uniting under Andries Pretorius, the Boers formed a force of 600 men, by whom the Zulus, 12,000 in number, were routed. Dingaan was driven out of the country, and his brother M'Panda established in his place, while all the region from St. John's River to Santa Lucia Bay was declared conquered territory. At first the British Government was inclined to stop the "trek," but desisted on the law officers of the Crown advising them that there was no power to prevent a British subject from migrating from one country to another. However, when the Boers—who, of course, owed allegiance to the Queen—proclaimed the Re-

public of Natalia, Government considered it time to interfere. A force was accordingly sent to take possession of the new territory, and, after a brief struggle, the pioneers, who had hoped to be left alone, were compelled to yield to British authority. In this way Natal became a British colony, though, except the settlement in the Bay—now known as Durban, on Port Natal—the "garden of South Africa" was for a long time almost solely occupied by Zulus, thousands of whom fled across the border to escape from the tyranny of their own military despots. Natal had, indeed, been discovered by the Portuguese as early as 1497, Vasco da Gama so naming it from the fact of its



NATAL NATIVE IN WAR DRESS.

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)

first, the new territory was united to the Cape, its colonial independence not being granted until 1856; while in 1893 it was promoted to responsible government. In 1894 there were close on 550,000 inhabitants scattered over its 20,460 square miles. But of these only 47,000 were Europeans, the rest being Zulus and Indian coolies, who work on the sugar-plantations. All tropical and semi-tropical crops flourish. Gold is found, iron

is plentiful, and the coal-mines bid fair to be of great value. Good sheep- and cattle-pastures exist, and fine forests constitute an additional source of wealth. About 400 miles of railway are open, and with these are all the concomitants which iron roads infer; while the prospects of the colony may be gathered from the fact that its revenue in 1894 was nearly £1,393,000, its public debt considerably over £7,000,000, its imports £3,200,000, and its exports—in round numbers—£1,481,000.

But in 1843 the ex-Republic of Natalia was a poor annexe of the Cape, and still poorer when it was found that many of the more independent pioneers refused to live even there under the British flag. Meanwhile, their vacated farms in the old colony had been occupied by English and Scots settlers, who introduced the merino sheep, and thus laid the foundation of the great wool-trade of South Africa.

Once more some of the Boers most irreconcilably disaffected to British rule trekked across the Drakensberg into the country between the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Here for some years they were permitted to remain undisturbed. But in 1848, disgusted with anarchy within and violence without, the lack of anything like good government, and the continual outrages against the natives and against those who took their part, some of the most respectable of the inhabitants solicited the extension of the Queen's authority over this country. The Cape Government, it is true, was by no means anxious to risk a renewal of their experience with Natal. However, in 1848, after a proclamation in which the sword and the Bible were mixed up after a style evidently modelled on that of the Ironsides, Sir Harry Smith declared the Orange River country part of the British dominions. He did not, however, reckon with Andries Pretorius. For in 1849 that sturdy rebel rose in arms against the new rule, and expelled the British Resident from Bloemfontein (p. 133), who speedily returned, accompanied by Sir Harry Smith and a detachment of British

troops, by whom the malcontents were defeated at Boomplaats, and the country was duly constituted a colony under a Lieutenant-Governor and Legislative Council. This was the Cape share in the matter. Now came the Imperial part of the programme. Accordingly, regularly as the colonists wished to advance, so steadily the home authorities pulled them back.

In those years there were no telegraphs to paralyse the hand of a spirited proconsul tied to the African end of the wire, and the mails were a great deal slower than in these days of swift steamers between England and the Cape. Still, in time the proceedings on the Orange River reached Downing Street, with the result that Sir George Clerk was sent out with special instructions to abandon the sovereignty acquired at the cost of so much British blood. For the Cabinet had at that date, as at various subsequent periods, scruples regarding the morality of annexation. And, besides, the extension of the empire meant money. But this procedure produced such consternation among the Cape colonists, who had loyally thrown in their lot with the British Government, and especially among the natives, who, under the belief that the country had changed masters, were flocking into it from the regions around, that the evacuation was postponed for a brief period. However, in 1854, economy and the official conscience ended in the country being handed over to a President and twenty-four delegates, who in due time signed a convention by which the new Republic received political independence. Slavery was prohibited, treaties with the native chiefs were recognised, and, so far as could be done by any compact of this sort, which was largely a form on both sides, the rights of the natives were safeguarded. As disputes with the Kaffirs had been frequent, and Sir George Cathcart had to defeat the Basutos under Moshesh at the battle of Berea in 1852, the stipulations referred to were regarded more as forms demanded by English public opinion than as a charter by which the aborigines and the

The Orange
Free State.

Dutch Republicans were in future to regulate their intercourse. Indeed, it was mainly the desire to escape from the cost of these native wars that suggested the abandonment of the latest annexation, which, as Sir Robert Seeley has put it, we had conquered and peopled "in a fit of absence of mind."

After the battle of Boomplaats went against the Boers, Pretorius lost no time in putting the Vaal between him and the

The Trans-vaal. victors. Doubtful of the fortunes of war being with him, he had every-

thing ready for flight, so that he and his followers required only to ride off the battle-field to their waggons, lying in a safe position on the way to the Land of Promise. This was the region long known as the Transvaal. Here, as early as 1838, Hendrick Potgieter and a party of Boers from Natal had constituted themselves, near where the town of Potchefstroom now stands, into a simple republican form of government, of which the supreme power was placed in a Volksraad, or People's Council. Hitherto they had been too few, and, so far as the British Government was concerned, not aggressive enough to be interfered with in their then remote wilds. Yet, if they left the Government alone, they acted most unmercifully by the natives. Any Kaffir theft was punished by a "commando," in which too frequently the innocent and the helpless suffered instead of the guilty, who were strong enough to escape. To the west and the north-east these native disturbances were of constant occurrence, and it may be remembered that it was during one of the retaliatory raids against Setshele that Dr. Livingstone's house was plundered and burnt (Vol. II., p. 177). When Andries Pretorius joined them, the Transvaalers obtained a man who, if no better than his neighbours, possessed more knowledge of the little world in Natal and the Cape, and was of greater natural ability than

the people who had at once recognised these qualities by electing him Commandant-General. Pretorius displayed his shrewdness in seeing that, while these outrages on the natives and the missionaries disgusted the English people, they had quite another influence on the time-serving party-politicians who happened to be in power. Their first desire was to get quit of the responsibility attaching to such acts by men still British subjects by the simple expedient of "cutting the painter." Accordingly, while the fate of the



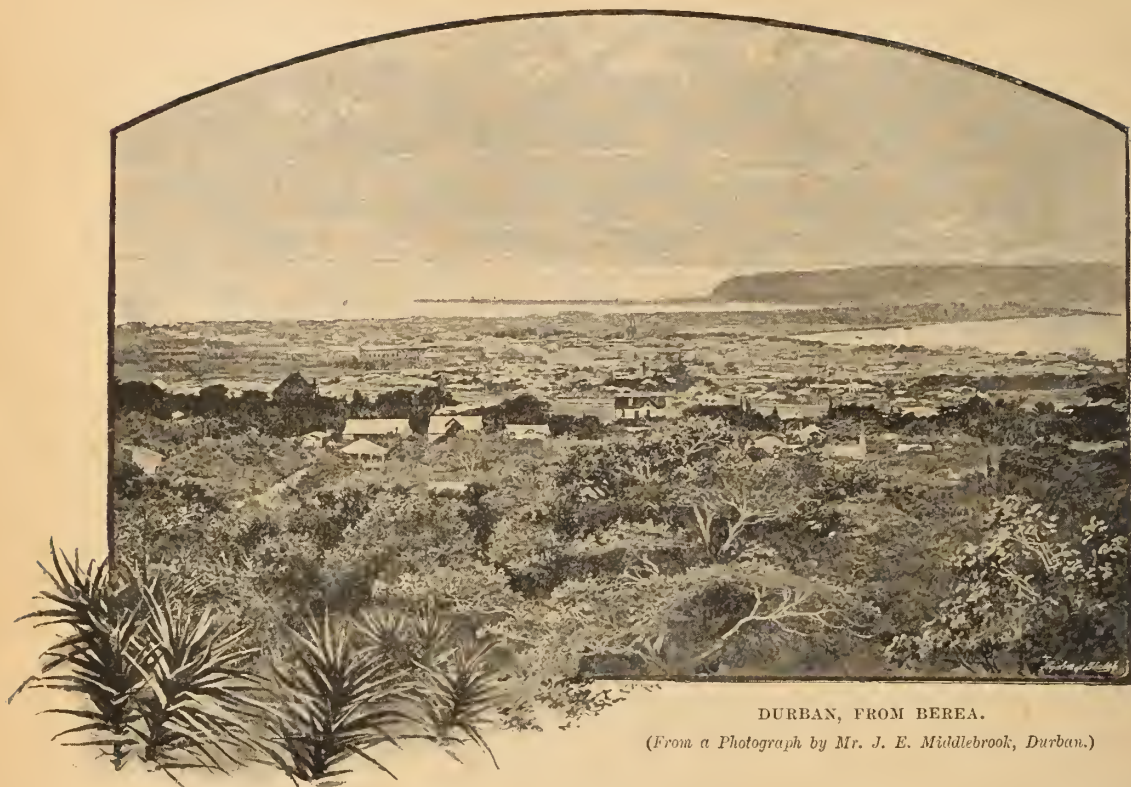
THE PARK, DURBAN, NATAL.

(From a Photograph by Mr. J. E. Middlebrook, Durban.)

Orange sovereignty was still undecided, Pretorius cleverly managed to make terms with the British Government, which was in no way loth to shuffle out of the difficulty by signing the celebrated Sand River Convention. In this document, the independence of the "South African Republic" was recognised, *plus* the customary provisions against slavery, selling ammunition to the natives, and so forth, without, if we may judge from the result, either party being very anxious about observing these virtuous stipulations.

This brings the history of the Transvaal down to 1852. Meanwhile, the old colony was not quite in a position to preach peace and goodwill to its neighbours. For it was undergoing the customary

Kaffir wars.



DURBAN, FROM BEREA.

(From a Photograph by Mr. J. E. Middlebrook, Durban.)

experience of all new countries already peopled by warlike savages. In 1846 another Kaffir war was added to the several already noticed (pp. 123, etc.). It grew out of a Kaffir thief who had stolen an axe being rescued by a band of his tribesmen on his way to gaol; and this "War of the Axe" did not terminate until 1847, when, as a practical admission that the Glenelg policy (p. 127) was wrong, the colony was again extended to the Kei, leaving the Transkei territory between this river and the Keiskamma as a home for the Kaffirs, under the name of British Kaffraria.

In 1849 the colony was threatened with a worse infliction than the fifth Kaffir war which scourged the colony next year. For a cargo of convicts was sent out. The colonists, however, showed so much determination not to have the gaol-birds as to resolve that, if landed by force, they should not be fed, and the convict-ship, after lying for four months in Table Bay, set sail again. It was, no doubt, a rebellious act for one set of British subjects

to fix the degree of moral obliquity which should debar another from setting foot on British soil, more especially as the Cape was beginning to be regarded as a sort of African Alsatia. But the Cape colonists felt, as did the Australians at a later date, that they had a right to guard themselves against a great peril. For, since the Dutch East India Company had sold some convicts as slaves, the honesty of South Africa had never been openly poisoned by an influx of such avowed rascality as what was then threatened to be shot into the colony.

The Kaffir war of 1850 was the bloodiest of any of which the settlers had to bear the brunt. It was instigated by a native prophet, and, as usual, the land question was at the bottom of it. One after another the military settlers in the villages on the frontier were murdered; and for two years and a half this went on, until the savages were suppressed at a cost of four hundred white men and two millions of money. But, with the exception

of a few minor disturbances, it was practically the last of the native "wars" within the bounds of the Cape Colony; for the disturbances of 1877 scarcely deserve the title too aptly applicable to those which preceded them. Nevertheless, in 1857, the tribesmen gave a great deal of trouble, if not to the whites, at least to themselves, from causes that were not dissimilar to those already mentioned. A strange belief arose among them that the dead-and-gone warriors would come to earth again, and that they themselves would become beautiful, and young, and invincible, and everything which they were not. To attain to this felicity, the legend declared, the cattle must be killed, the grain destroyed, and not a seed sown. For the earth would produce bountiful crops of its own accord, and in the still undiscovered caves fat oxen would appear in miraculous abundance. Nothing of the whites was taken. Not even when famine threatened the destruction of the Kaffir race did the fanatics help themselves to their neighbours' corn and cattle. Indeed, but for them they must have perished in multitudes. As it was, about fifty thousand are said to have committed suicide in this way, since the more the Dutch and

English settlers tried to help the fanatics, or to induce them to help themselves, the more convinced were the poor people that the whites were anxious to stave off the evil day which would end by sweeping them and theirs into the sea.

At that time the military resources of Great Britain were sorely tried by the Indian Mutiny. Scarcely a soldier was left at the Cape; so that had the Kaffirs resorted to their old tactics it might have gone hard with the colonists. It has, therefore, been suggested—with what reason it is impossible to say—that this legend, entirely strange to the mythology of the race, was really invented for purposes of self-interest by some unscrupulous whites.

Meanwhile, the Cape progressed, until in 1872 responsible government with a Legislative Council and House of Assembly was granted to the colony. Hitherto there had been a Parliament and a "Cabinet." But the Ministers were answerable not to their fellow-legislators, but to the Governor. Roads and bridges were made with no illiberal hand, and railways—of which in 1894 there were over two thousand two hundred and sixty miles in the Cape Colony—begun. These



BLOEMFONTEIN, CAPITAL OF THE ORANGE FREE STATE.

(From a Photograph by W. H. Pocock & Co., Cape Town.)

enabled the distant settlers, who lived in a very primitive and patriarchal style, to reach markets with greater ease. And, with roads, fresh country was opened up, new villages were established, and old ones expanded far

law. In 1879 the Chief Moirosi, having rescued his son from justice, had to be taught better manners by his stronghold being taken after hard fighting by the colonial forces. The General Disarmament Act (which applied



PARLIAMENT HOUSE, CAPE TOWN.

beyond their former bounds. Public education was munificently subsidised, and immigration from Great Britain encouraged. The pleasant vineyards planted by the old Dutch farmers were extended, and a strong effort was made to induce Europe to tolerate the Cape vintages. Sheep-farming became an important industry. British Kaffraria was then annexed, and incorporated into the division of King William's Town and East London. Next, the Basutos, under the Britons' old enemy Moshesh, were accepted as British subjects and their country was annexed as a dependency of the Cape under

the name of Basutoland. After Basutoland.

the Basutos had been defeated in 1852, they soon came into collision with the Orange Free State, which disputes lasted until 1868. Then, finding themselves hard pressed by the Republicans, they begged to be taken under British protection. British protection did not, however, inculcate respect for British

to all the native races) led to the rebellion of the tribe. This ended in the Imperial Government taking over the whole country, the Cape Government contributing £20,000 per annum towards the cost of administration, on the well-understood condition that, when strong enough to hold it, Basutoland should again lapse into the old colony. This was in 1884, and the arrangement has worked well for all concerned—law and order prevailing, and drunkenness being now rare, owing to the teachings of the missionaries and the influence of the chiefs. Basutoland has long been a field of labour cultivated by the French Protestants with such success that there are already between one and two hundred schools, with 7,200 scholars, among the natives. Education is subsidised to the extent of nearly £4,000 per annum, out of a revenue amounting from direct taxation to more than £41,000. Maseru, the seat of

government, is a village of 800 people, of whom 100 are Europeans. But as yet Basutoland is almost solely left to its native lords—only 578 whites, at the date of the latest census, living among 218,324 natives—the former not being allowed to settle without permits, granted after a tolerably strict inquiry into the antecedents and intentions of the applicant.

South Africa, owing to its frequent native wars, had obtained a bad name in Europe. Scandal will have it that these wars were welcome to people who lived far from “the front,” and had horses and stores to sell to those who were there. But the poor folk who had much to lose and nothing to gain regarded matters in a different light. And,

above all, the land suffered. Immigrants did not care to risk their lives in such a country, and the colony had an uphill fight in trying to retrieve its reputation, when two events happened, in rapid succession, which entirely altered the fortunes of South Africa. These were the discovery of diamonds and gold. Both date before the episodes which, for convenience’ sake, we have permitted to anticipate the strict sequence of history, for actually the full development of the great mines came some years later. After this, the evil fame of South Africa arose solely from the disappointment of treasure-seekers, or the knavishness or over-sanguineness of “promoters” selling shares in ventures that did not justify the florid language of their prospectuses.



FRUIT OF THE STANGERIA CYCAD OF NATAL

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)



THE SQUARE, JOHANNESBURG.
(From a Photograph by Cauey.)

CHAPTER IX.

COLONISATION: THE BRITISH IN SOUTH AFRICA: DIAMONDS AND GOLD.

A Great Day for South Africa—The Shining Pebble of Schalek van Niekerk—Diamonds on the Vaal—Hans De Beers' Farm—The Founding of Kimberley—The Spread of Discoveries—Their Effect upon the Prosperity of South Africa—Changes in the Mode of Working—Big Diamonds—Amalgamation—De Beers, Consolidated—"I.D.B."—The Transvaal—Its History after the First Annexation—Quarrel with the Orange River Republic—Disputes over Boundaries with the British, the Zulus, and the Portuguese—War with Sekukuni—From Bad to Worse—Annexation by Sir Theophilus Shepstone—Under British Rule—Rebellion—Recession for the Second Time—President Krüger—Zululand—Cetywayo—His Peculiar Proceedings—Sir Bartle Frere's Ultimatum and Declaration of War—Reverses and the Victory at Ulundi—The Thirteen Kinglets—Restoration of Cetywayo—Civil War and the Death of the King—The Boer Encroachments—Annexation of the Remainder—Bechuanaland—Boer Freebooters—Stellaland and Goshen Republics—Sir Charles Warren's Expedition—Declaration of a Protectorate over the North, and Establishment of a Crown Colony in the South—Gold Discoveries—Mauch and Baines—Progress of Discovery—Revivification of the Transvaal—Effect on South Africa—An Empire Won and nearly Lost.

AMONG the traders and hunters who trekked with their waggons into the interior, bringing to the remotest settlers all the necessaries and some of the luxuries of civilisation, was a certain John O'Reilly, whose nationality need not be particularised. Having occasion, in the winter of 1867, to do business in the Hôpetown district of Griqualand West, on the other side of the Vaal River, he passed a night at the house of Schalek van Niekerk, a Dutch farmer. While engaged in bartering bargains with the Boer and his wife, O'Reilly's attention was attracted by a game which the children of the family were playing. It was the familiar

one of knucklebones; but what chiefly struck the trader was the peculiar transparency of one of the pebbles used in the game. In those days many sanguine men had wild enough notions of the wealth lying hid in inner Africa. As yet, however, no one had suggested diamonds; nevertheless O'Reilly, though he had never seen such a stone in the rough, was seized with a fervid fancy that the pebble played with by the Van Niekerk children was really the precious gem. The farmer, however, laughed at the thing being of any value. The trader might have it, if he cared for the rubbish—there were plenty

more of the kind in the river clays.* O'Reilly, however, would accept it only on the condition that, if it proved of any worth, the Boer should receive half of what it sold for. At Colesberg the wiseacres sat in judgment on Van Niekerk's pebble. The Jews pronounced it a topaz, and worth nothing; and several other people, while admitting that a stone which cut glass must be out of the common run, were not quite sure that Mr. O'Reilly and his friend the Dutchman were not indulging in the operation afterwards very familiar as "salting" the soil they wished to sell. Only

weighing $21\frac{1}{4}$ carats, and worth £500; and, to confirm the expert's opinion, the then Cape Governor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, bought the gem for the price he set upon it.

This settled the question in the opinion of all save a few men of little faith, and not only made Van Niekerk rich beyond his wildest dreams, but sent thousands to wash the banks of the Vaal River in search of more "blink-klippe," or bright-eyed pebbles of a similar character.

Early days
in Griqua-
land West.

For three years this went on in a rather primitive fashion—some finding diamonds,



DE BEERS MINE, KIMBERLEY: MECHANICAL HAULAGE OF THE "BLUE" CLAY TO THE DRYING-GROUND

(From a Photograph by Mr. J. E. Middlebrook, Kimberley.)

one person—namely, Dr. Atherstone, of Grahamstown—pronounced it a veritable diamond,

* There are already several versions of this story. One version affirms Niekerk to have obtained the stone from another Boer called Jacobs; and a second declares that it was picked up by a Bushman near the Orange River; but we follow the account supplied by an acquaintance of all the individuals concerned.

and many fingering the "dirt" spread out on a table with little return for their sordid toil. Then, also, as invariably happens, hosts of people affected to have known all about the presence of diamonds long before O'Reilly and the Dutchman, and related vague tales of Bushmen and Kaffirs with glittering stones

employed for the most prosaic of purposes. Most of these stories are, no doubt, purely apocryphal. Yet, soon after Van Nickerk became so suddenly famous, he bought for £400 from a Hottentot witch-doctor the celebrated "Star of the South," weighing 83 carats, and, on being cut down to $46\frac{1}{4}$ carats, perfect as to water, shape, and colour. This fine gem was sold by him for £11,200, and, after a lawsuit, it made its way to England, and is at this moment among the jewels of a British Countess. Diamonds were, however, actually found in the mud walls of native huts, so that it was seen they must also be contained in the dry soil at a distance from the river. This led to the opening up of the dry diggings where now stand Du Toits, De Beers, and Kimberley.

The two last-named localities were discovered in 1870 and 1871, on the farm of an old-fashioned Dutch—or Huguenot—stock-breeder, named Hans, or Johannes, de Beers, in a locality some twelve miles to the east of the Vaal River. Hans was a good type of the old Dutch trek-Boer, and, so far from being excited over the potentialities of wealth lying under the dry surface of his farm, did his best to cope with the irresistible inrush of diggers. When this was found impossible, he reluctantly rented out claims, from which he received a very substantial revenue. Yet the farmer was never weary of declaring that he would have been happier if he had never seen a diamond or fingered a shilling of the diamond-seekers' gelt. The end was that he determined to "trek" to less lively pasturages, parting with his right and title in the Kimberley and De Beers mines—the ground on which now stands a growing city of 30,000 inhabitants—for what must have seemed to him the extravagant price of £6,600.* So

* The purchaser soon afterwards sold the ground to the Government for £100,000, and in some nine years diamonds to the value of £12,000,000 were, it is said, extracted from the "New Rush," or Colesberg "Kopje" (*i.e.*, "Hill"), as the Kimberley mine was then called. The odd £600 were added when, in the middle of negotiations for the ground, a diamond was turned up by the point of a lady's parasol.

anxious, however, was the honest Dutchman to be out of the turmoil which had arisen around him that he did not even wait to receive the price of his property. "He gathered his flocks and herds together," Mr. Thorburn tells us, "and, with his household gods, struck away Free-State-wards. On the road he was overtaken by the agent of the purchasers, and on the box of his waggon received the first instalment of the purchase-money for the two mines. De Beers never regretted their sale, and in the new home which he made for himself he was much more contented than he would have been had he neglected his stock for commercial pursuits. In the Free State he was my neighbour; and an honest, straightforward neighbour he proved himself, one of Nature's gentlemen. He died in my house on the 20th of June, 1882, in the fifty-second year of his age."† There were, no doubt, owlsh unbelievers who even went so far as to affirm that the diamonds must have been carried from the distant interior by ostriches in days when these birds—now getting so scarce that they are kept on farms for the sake of their feathers—were extremely abundant!

However, in the face of discoveries so continuous and astounding, the South Africans and the thousands of new arrivals who were helping them to change the Effect of the diamond discoveries on South Africa. country could afford to laugh at scepticism so absurd. In an incredibly short time arose rough villages, which soon became transformed into busy towns, with all the characteristics of places where everybody was keen after wealth, society a little mixed, and money which came quickly went as easily. Indeed, without some such active stimulus as the discovery of the most precious of stones, it is hard to imagine anything in the diamond-fields which would have led to this settlement, for a drearier region does not exist in South Africa (p. 141). Destitute of trees or any greenery, it is simply an expanse of rolling plains, "unrelieved by any eminence worthy of the name of hill," and without water or

† *Daily Graphic*, September 25, 1891.

Rapid and great were the changes which the discovery of the diamond-fields wrought in the expansion of South Africa. In the first place, the working of the diamond-gravels in Brazil has been almost entirely abandoned; while search for the precious gem in India, Borneo, and other regions once famous for it, has been seriously discouraged. Raolcondal is now only a name, and Golconda but the basis of an Oriental metaphor. For



RIGHT HON. CECIL RHODES.

(From a Photograph by Bassano, Old Bond Street, W.)

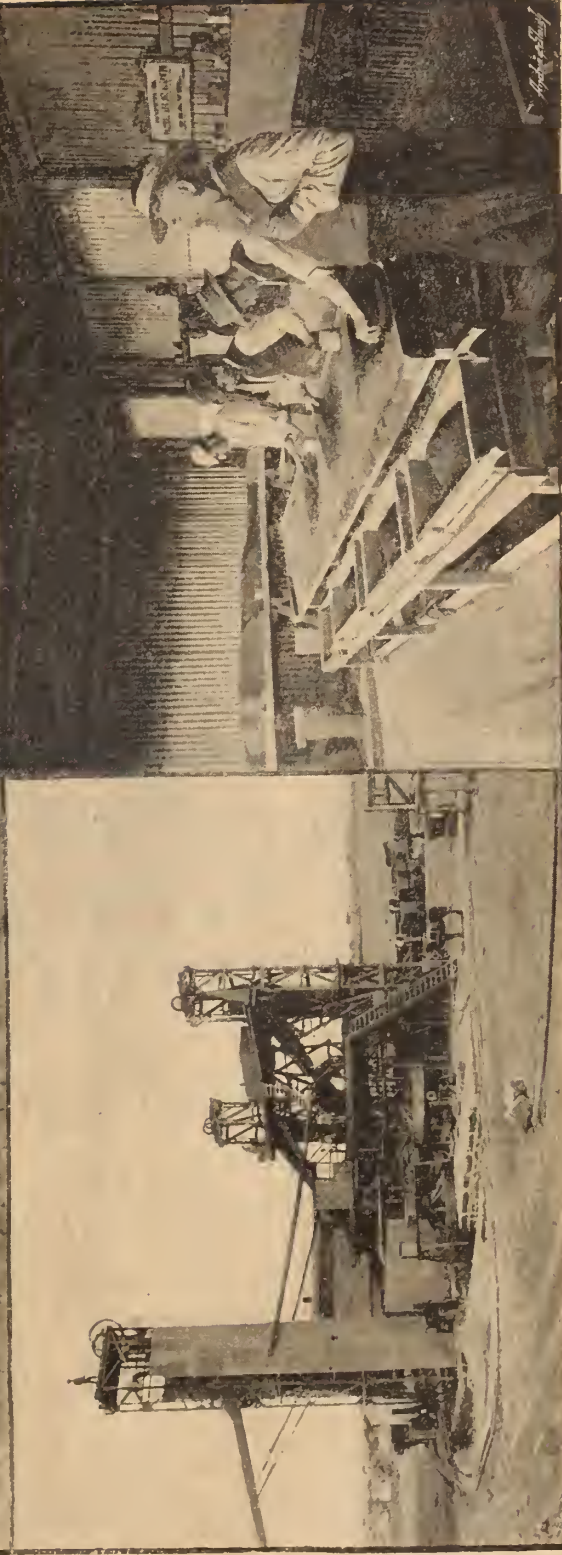
Van Niekerk's shining pebble was the "voortrekker" of an exceeding great multitude. In twenty years, from 1867-68 to 1888, when the output attained its maximum, the export of rough diamonds from South Africa rose from 200 carats to 3,841,837 carats; and, even with the slight decline since the latter date, the yield is still enormous. The annual value of this glittering produce exceeds £4,000,000, taking the average price of the gems at £1 10s. per carat, which was the estimated average value of the rough stone when the Griqualand West deposits were discovered, though since then it has at times risen to £1 13s. 3d. and fallen to £1 5s. 8d.

And, as the chief preliminary to the good government of the Diamond Fields was their annexation to the British possessions in South Africa, at first they were constituted into a separate colony; for Griqualand West had never

been an off-lie of the Cape. Indeed, for a time a war of words raged as to whether they were Britain's to take, since the country was, in reality, the territory of a Hottentot chief and his tribe who lived under treaty with the British Government. It was, moreover, contended, though the question is a little complicated, that the Orange Free State had a better right to annex (if annexation was in the wind) than Britain had. However, the Republicans were soothed by the welcome sum of £90,000 in the guise of compensation for what shadowy wrong may have been done them, and in 1871 Griqualand West ceased to be a No-white-man's-land. In any case this step, like many similar ones in South Africa, was inevitable. The Orange Free State was far too weak to control the heterogeneous mob of diamond-diggers who flocked to the country along the Vaal River. Complications had actually arisen between them and the land-owners; and, when the British Government stepped into the breach, riots and bloodshed were perilously imminent. Moreover, the Griquas, or mixed Hottentots, under Waterboer, had long fretted at the idea of being ruled by the Dutch, and promised to give trouble before long. And it is quite certain that, had the chief attempted to exercise authority over the white men, he would have been treated very much the same as any other Hottentot who so far forgot himself as not to mind his place. Wise, therefore, in time, Waterboer went through the formality of ceding the 17,800 square miles of country to Great Britain, in return for a handsome annuity to himself and family, which was, of course, continued when, in 1877, Griqualand West was incorporated in the Cape Colony.

Long before that date the diamond discoveries had exercised a most remarkable influence on the prosperity of South Africa. Colonies and states which had been previously in a languishing or impoverished condition immediately began to feel the impulse of new life and energy. Fresh enterprises were started almost daily, and money was plentiful in remote corners of the country where, since

Annexation
of Griqua-
land West.



DE BEERS MINE, KIMBERLEY.

- (1) Drying Ground; (2) Washing Machine No. 1; (3) Washing Machine No. 2; (4) Sorting Diamonds
(From Photographs by Mr. J. E. Middlebroock, Kimberley.)

the memory of man, it had been an uncommonly scarce article. Since the landing of Van Riebeeck's colonists no event so epoch-making as the discovery of Van Niekerk's pebble had arisen in the history of South Africa. Trade and industry increased, wealth became disseminated through all classes of society, public works progressed, and the natives, who in nearly every other part of the world so rapidly disappear before civilisation, not only refused to be effaced in the Cape and its border-lands, but actually shared in the good times, being indispensable to the whites as labourers in the new mines. Before diamonds set all the southern world agog, the wealth of the country consisted almost entirely in wool. This commodity, not associated with anything startling in the way of commerce, comprised three-fourths of the two millions or so of Cape Colony exports. To-day South Africa sends abroad a surplus worth more than sevenfold that sum, and to this diamonds and gold—of which we shall have something to say presently—contribute more than half. Roads, railways, and telegraphs have been constructed in a ratio equal to the necessity of communicating more quickly and more easily with the centre of these African *El Dorados*. Instead of clumsy, slow-moving waggons and stage-coaches, Kimberley—which old residents still know as “the Camp”—is now so readily reached by a railway from Capetown that it is possible to manage the journey between London and the city of diamonds in seventeen days, or about half the time required to make the journey from Cape Town to Kimberley when De Beers sold his farm.

Though, as always happens after a time, both in gold- and diamond-diggings, the work of extracting the precious stones from the “blue” or “diamondiferous” clay has, to a large extent, fallen into the hands of great companies or capitalists, no mineral discoveries have perhaps so largely benefited every class. Of the sixty or seventy millions realised during the twenty-seven years prior to 1894 for the seven tons of diamonds found at

Kimberley, fully one-half has been paid away in wages at the mines and for other local expenses. A large amount has gone into the pockets of the farmers and “transport-riders” or freighters. Colonial merchants have also profited affluently, and the Government has found its advantage in rates and taxes, just as the landowners have in licences and payments for the soil bought outright. But for the discovery of diamonds, the countries north of the Orange River would in all likelihood be still in possession of the natives, with a sprinkling of Boers, who, living in the primitive, unprogressive way of which we have had glimpses already, would have received the stories of riches under the soil with stolid incredulity. Even after the northern gold-fields were discovered, years elapsed before anything more than a feeble effort at their development was made; and it may be put to the credit of diamonds that, but for the energy and capital of Kimberley, the wealth of the Transvaal would not have been so fully brought to light, or the regions north of the Limpopo brought under British rule.*

In course of time the mode of working the diamond-mines changed very much. As the elay in which they were found had to be brought from a greater and greater depth, it could no longer be carried in a bucket, a wheelbarrow, or even in a cart, to the shed where the seeker after riches was patiently sorting over the dirt on a table before him. Machinery took the place of the old primitive apparatus, and armies of native labourers, superintended by white foremen, worked in the unattractive depths of the ever-deepening mines. The ear-loads of “blue” clay transferred from the dark alleys of the mine are now wheeled out to the well-fenced-in drying-grounds. There it lies for months, until the “stuff” is less tenacious and more workable. After this, it is wheeled back to the mine, and whirled about in a machine, which leaves behind the stones and sends the liquid off in a muddy stream that is making

Diamond-digging.

* Reunert: “Diamonds and Gold in South Africa” (1893), pp. 1-5.

the vicinity of Kimberley even uglier than Nature left it by the accumulation of those grey masses of "tailings" which give the vicinity of a gold-mine so dismal an appearance. After this the diamonds, being the heavier, sink to the bottom, and in due time are sorted over by nimble experts seated at well-lighted tables. Single adventurers, or partners working independently, in these claims soon vanished. Combined action became necessary, until the claims were amalgamated and bought up by large companies, which in their turn coalesced so as to form the huge monopolies by which the output of diamonds in South Africa is regulated (p. 141).

The system of roadways is now abandoned in favour of a system of haulage by wire-ropes, so that a peep into a diamond-mine reveals what appears to be a bewildering network over the entire extent of a huge, gloomy pit (pp. 137, 141, 144, 145). After the sinkings had been carried to a considerable depth, inclined shafts starting from the surface outside the limits of the mine were put down, but were succeeded by vertical ones to obviate the heavy fall of material and the loss and inconvenience caused thereby.

With the exception of Jagersfontein, in the Orange Free State, about eighty miles to the south-east of Kimberley, all the important diamond-mines are situated within or in the immediate vicinity of the last-named town and Beaconsfield; so that it was found less difficult than would otherwise have been the case to effect an operation which, next to the discovery of the diggings themselves, has exercised the most notable influence on the fortunes of the country in which they are situated.

This was the amalgamation of the rival interests. Costly working, frequent litigation, and constant duplication of the same work were so rapidly reducing the profits of the companies who had bought up the small private diggers that it was felt that, before long, even the best-paying of them would cease to be dividend-yielding. The money that was made was

gambed away in speculations or endless new diamond ventures—"Kopjes" and "Fonteins," and "Pans" and "Dams," all miraculously rich, but all long ago passed into oblivion. Incompetent managers ruined even those companies that did pay, and the directors of others found greater attractions in "buying for the rise," or "selling for the fall," than in attending to the business for which they were paid by the shareholders. Company after company failed, was wound up, and forgotten by all save the luckless folk whose money had sunk in the African earth beyond recall, until the few that remained saw the necessity of amalgamating. This, however, was no easy thing. At the end of 1885, after considerable progress had been made in the task, no fewer than 98 separate holdings existed in the four principal mines, and of these 42 were companies and 56 private firms or individuals. Originally they had been much greater, the total number of claims in Kimberley mine being 331, in De Beers 591, in Du Toits Pan 1,430, and in Bultfontein 886. The most important of these companies was De Beers, which in due time was destined to swallow up all the rest. Possibly this would not have been accomplished had there not just then arrived upon the scene Mr. Cecil Rhodes (p. 140), an Englishman who had come to the Cape in so feeble a state of health that it could scarcely have been expected he would have lived to become at thirty-eight Prime Minister and the most important man in South Africa. Under his guidance and that of Mr. Beit, the financial difficulties were in time got over. A controlling influence was obtained in the other companies by purchase; and then, by voting power, "suasion"—more or less "moral"—and what Mr. Rhodes describes as "deals," De Beers was enabled to dictate its terms to its quondam rivals and to emerge as the practical monopolist of the diamond industry of the world.

Diamonds are kept up at a price which is not put too high to deter the customers of the company from buying what are not necessities of life; and, not being subject to

"De Beers,
Limited."

the dictates of competition, are never let down too low to make "De Beers" a profitless concern. The syndicate, with its four millions of capital, "shuts down" and "opens up" mines on strictly economic principles, working the ground in which the most carbon crystals can be found at the least

Kimberley there are plenty of "pipes" of "blue" containing diamonds, and diamonds have been discovered in various parts of South Africa—at Vryburg, in Bechuanaland, for instance. But none of these spots possess stones in sufficient quantities to pay; and the chances are that if any future "rushes"—and there



DE BEERS MINE, KIMBERLEY: OPEN WORKINGS IN 1873.

(From a Photograph by Mr. J. E. Middlebrook, Kimberley.)

expenditure of time and labour. Hence, in time Du Toits Pan and Bultfontein will cease to be worked, and the world have to be content with paying a slightly higher price for its diamonds got out of the "blue" of Kimberley and De Beers.

The modern "Colossus of Rhodes," as the favourite witticism of South Africa describes De Beers, has not, of course, an absolute monopoly of "diamondiferous" ground. New fields may be discovered richer than any yet known. Indeed, in all the country adjoining

have been such—promise to become serious rivals to De Beers, that gigantic creation will find a means of turning them to its own advantage.

Four million pounds are every year spent upon these glittering baubles; and of this amount fully £3,500,000 come from the Kimberley and De Beers mines. At 30s. the carat, this means 2,340,000 carats, or 1,750,000 loads of "blue," which, at 15s. a load, brings the total working expenses to £1,312,000 per annum. We have, therefore, a yearly profit of £2,188,000,

or, taking the capital as £4,000,000, about $54\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This, allowing that De Beers moves along without any of the many accidents to which mines are subject, makes it perhaps the most lucrative to the original shareholders of all the investments in mother earth.*

Some of the stones found in the South

freedom from any trace of yellow-tint, and for the blue-whiteness of their colour. As the Great Mogul was said to have originally weighed only $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats, and by successive cuttings has been reduced $279\frac{7}{16}$ carats, and the Koh-i-Noor from 193 to $102\frac{3}{4}$ carats, South Africa is likely long to maintain its reputation for big diamonds.†



DE BEERS MINE, KIMBERLEY: OPEN WORKINGS AT THE PRESENT TIME.‡

(From a Photograph by Mr. J. E. Middlebrook, Kimberley.)

African mines are the largest known, though, being mostly yellow-tinted—"off colour," as the dealer puts it—they are of much less value than some Indian and Brazilian gems of less size. But others, like the Porter-Rhodes diamond ($428\frac{1}{2}$ carats), and the Jagersfontein diamond ($969\frac{1}{2}$ carats)—the latter discovered in June, 1893—are remarkable for their

* "In Afrikanderland" (*Pall Mall Gazette* Extra, No. 58), by F. E. G. (1891), an admirable discussion of this and other South African questions.

† *Nature*, February 1, 1894; *Good Words*, Sept. 1893; Doelter: "Edelsteinkunde" (1893). The "Braganza,"

Properties so vast as the diamond-mines of Africa have to be conducted with a sedulous care to prevent theft of the tiny The "I.D.B." gems which turn up among the dirt dug out and loaded into trucks by labourers. In the mine itself most of these are Kaffirs,

which belonged to the Imperial family of Brazil, and said to weigh 1,680 carats, is suspected to be merely a fine colourless topaz, while the reputed 367-carat "diamond" of the Rajah of Matan, in Borneo, has been shown to be only a piece of quartz.

‡ The clay is now removed almost entirely by means of shafts and inside workings (p. 142).

who work hard until they accumulate money enough to buy a few cattle, a musket, and a wife or two, and then return jubilant to their tribe. The temptation to steal and conceal a diamond when no one is looking is naturally irresistible. Accordingly, the Kaffir, when he leaves the mine at night, is subjected to so minute a scrutiny and so searching a test (of which the reader must pardon the description), as to render it impossible for him to be in possession of stolen property. At night, and, indeed, during the whole of his engagement, the labourer is confined to a "compound," or fenced-in yard, to prevent him from having access to the illicit diamond-buyer. This personage—generally a Hebrew—is the evil genius of the diamond-fields, and, to make his lot as hard as possible, some extremely draconic laws are in force. For instance, every diamond must, as soon as found, be registered, and anyone in possession of a gem not registered has to bear the onus of accounting for it and of suffering the penalties of neglecting to obey the law, even when he may (which is seldom the case) have come honestly by it. At one time, about 50 per cent. of the African diamonds were illicitly purchased, and even yet, with all the precautions against "I.D.B.," quite one in every twenty (£150,000 worth) is bought for a trifle from the black, or sometimes also from the white, labourers.

For, though the latter live where they please, and usually in the model village of Kenilworth belonging to the company, and would not submit to the ignominy of being searched, it does not follow that some of them do not require this check on their honesty. Detectives are, however, always at work, and the suspected person must be very sharp-witted to escape the attention of these experienced watchers. Still, the "I.D.B." does occasionally manage to escape with his plunder. He gets it down country in the hollowed-out contents of a very innocuous-looking novel, or on the person of a lady quite respectable until she is found out, or it may even be swallowed when the hand of the law comes

inconveniently close to the parcel. But, however his business is practised, a Griqualand "fence" is regarded as the most atrocious of his species. Crime is, no doubt, largely a question of sky. In Texas the height of turpitude is to steal a horse, in Morocco to steal a wife, in Australia to rob the "sluice-box," and in the diamond-fields all other offences are venial compared with illicit diamond-buying. "In South Africa," we are told by a recent lively visitor, "if you wish to put an indelible insult on a man, you simply whisper in connection with his name the three mystic letters 'I.D.B.' No need of more. Those three letters are more familiar to every man, woman, and child in the country than any other conjunction of the alphabet. The 'I.D.B.,' the *homo trium literarum* of the modern world, the pest of Cape Colony, is the Illicit Diamond-Buyer."

As an independent republic (p. 131) the Transvaal was not a success. Money was scarce, taxes were hard to collect, and order was still harder to maintain. Marthinus Wessels Pretorius, eldest son of the founder of the state, became first President of the Dutch African Republic, a name afterwards changed to that of the South African Republic; but he proved an indifferent preserver of the peace. Falling out with the Orange Free State, he invaded it, though the dispute was settled without bloodshed. Pretorius was elected President, in the hope of effecting a union of the two Dutch republics, which, it became evident, were too feeble to subsist divided. Failing in this object, Pretorius returned to the Transvaal, only to find the commonwealth going to wreck. During his absence the Boers had drifted into quarrels with the Batlapins, Baralongs, and Griquas in the west, and, still more serious, had roused the enmity of Cetywayo, the powerful Zulu king in the east, over a dispute regarding the ownership of the Utrecht and Wakkerstroom districts. This was in 1863. By 1868 the Boers' claim to the country stretching as far as Lake Ngami in one direction and Delagoa

The Transvaal: Annexation and Recession.

Bay* (p. 70) in another, brought upon them the additional difficulties of an unfriendliness with Great Britain and Portugal. Three years' dispute over the south-west boundary, though settled by the award of the Governor of Natal, led to the resignation of Pretorius and the appointment of President Burgers, who in 1875 was forced into a war with Sekukuni, chief of the Bapedi Kaffirs, south of the Olifant River, who contested his right to a large part of Lydenburg, and even of Pretoria, the capital of the republic. In the hostilities which ensued, the Boers met with repeated reverses, and during the President's absence in Europe, trying to negotiate for a railway to Delagoa Bay, everything fell into confusion. The treasury was empty—or nearly so, the whole available cash being half-a-crown—and creditors pressed it from every quarter, while the hapless settlers ran an imminent risk of being "eaten up" by an invasion of Bapedis and Zulus. The spring of 1877 came without any prospect of improvement in the outlook, and, as happened with the Orange Free State in former days (p. 130), numbers of the people begged for the interference of England. Rightly or wrongly, their petition was listened to, and, on the 12th of April, Sir Theophilus Shepstone annexed the Transvaal by no more warlike operation than a proclamation to that effect.

For the next three years, or less, the country was peacefully ruled by a British Administrator. Under the new government it increased in population and wealth, and capital, now confident of being protected, began to pour in. But though the settlers at large, if not contented, were quite willing to accept things as they were, a smouldering hatred to British rule remained, and in 1880 suddenly burst into rebellion. The country was garrisoned by a mere handful of men, so that the malcontents carried all before them.

* After long disputes, in which Great Britain took part as a claimant, the Bay was, in July, 1875, awarded to Portugal on the arbitration of Marshal MacMahon, President of the French Republic. Indirectly, through the railway which terminates at Lourenço Marquez, it became the subject of later difficulties.

A company of British soldiers was surprised and shot down at Bronkers Spruit, a reverse followed by the siege of Pretoria and the disasters of Laing's Neck, Ingogo Heights, and Amajuba Hill (p. 149). Troops were immediately ordered from England, when suddenly the forces were countermanded, peace was made, and on the 25th of October, 1881, the independence of the South African Republic



PRESIDENT KRÜGER IN 1885.

(From a Photograph by Duffus Brothers, Johannesburg.)

acknowledged for the second time in less than thirty years.

The mortification of this surrender, it is true, was softened by the republic being put under the suzerainty of the Queen, and a British Resident appointed, though with no higher power than that of a consul-general. Even this faint admission of the overlordship of Britain was still further modified by the Convention of London held in 1885, after the election of Paul Kruger (p. 147)—"Oom Paul"—as President in the preceding year: so that the Transvaal was in 1894 quite as independent as ever it was, and, owing to discoveries to be immediately noticed, a great deal richer.†

But the Transvaal was not the only part of South Africa in which Britain was forced to

† Aubert: "La République sud-Africaine" (1889).
Distant: "A Naturalist in the Transvaal" (1892.)

push forwards; and it is suspected that the indifferent success which at first attended

the efforts of the British may have suggested to the Boers the possibility of their also striking a blow against troops so fresh to South African warfare. For many years the colony of Natal and, latterly, the Governor of the Cape, in his capacity of High Commissioner or Imperial Agent over the whole of South Africa in all affairs not local, had cast anxious eyes on Cetywayo, King of the Amazulus, a numerous section of the warlike Kaffir race. From being a small clan, the Zulus—to use their more familiar name—had, under the government of a succession of ruthless, but able, military chiefs, grown into a nation of warriors, who were the terror of all the feebler races around them (Vol. III., p. 193). Cetywayo was the latest of these kings, who claimed the absolute control not only of Zululand proper, but also of a large portion of what is now included within the Transvaal and Amatongaland. He had more than once threatened

the Boers—as they had threatened him—and it was shrewdly suspected that the Zulu ruler did not drill and discipline his “impis”



LORD CHELMSFORD.



KING CETYWAYO.

(From a Photograph by Crews.)

and instruct “indunas” solely for the purpose of preying upon the timid tribes who fled at the very mention of his name. By-and-by, from consulting the Governor of Natal, Cetywayo came to treating his remonstrances with insolence, and intimidating the British, German, and Norwegian missionaries settled in Zululand with the full permission of his predecessor. Finally, raids were made on British territory, and threats used to the effect that before long there would be bigger massacres than those of a few natives suspected of witchcraft.

At all events, Sir Bartle Frere, the then Cape Governor and High Commissioner of South Africa, believed that Natal was in peril of invasion by the fierce tribesmen of Cetywayo. Accordingly, though his views were not shared by many of those best qualified to give an opinion, an ultimatum was sent, on the 11th of December, 1878, which could have almost no other consequence than to drive the haughty Zulu king into open hostilities. The answer not being satisfactory, war was declared, and five columns under General Thesiger (afterwards Lord Chelmsford) were ordered to advance

into the country. In ordinary circumstances, this force would have been no more than necessary. But, indifferently led, the first news which reached civilisation was that on the 22nd of January, 1879, the main column had been almost annihilated at Isandula (pp. 152, 153). The heroic defence of Rorke's Drift (p. 152) redeemed the misery of this disaster and of the subsequent events while, after a

suspense, Lord (then Sir Garnet) Wolseley arrived from England with reinforcements—not, however, before Lord Chelmsford had rallied his troops and, on the 4th of July, won the decisive battle of Ulundi.

The new commander, therefore, landed only to find the Zulus beaten and ready to listen to any terms the conquerors had to offer. Colonial opinion was all for annexa-



AMAJUBA HILL.

(From a Photograph by W. H. Pocock & Co., Cape Town.)

few trifling advantages—gained, for the most part, by the Colonial volunteers familiar with native tactics—the remaining troops crossed to the British side of the Tugela River, and were shut up by the overwhelming horde of Zulus at Etshowe. The men and officers showed, all of them, traditional courage: but, as usual, they underestimated the number, bravery, and capacity of their enemies and the difficulties of the country. Accordingly, after an anxious period of

tion; but the Imperial authorities declined that responsibility, and, as a makeshift, ordered a fantastic division of the country under thirteen chiefs—one of them a Zuluised trader named John Dunn, who was supposed to have immense influence with the people, and another a Basuto chief, who had quite as little business there, but who had done good service during the war.

The result was, naturally, anarchy and civil strife. It was therefore determined, in 1882,

to try the experiment of restoring Cetywayo, in spite of the wish of the people that the British Government should itself undertake the administration of his war-racked country. As might have been expected, the chiefs who had been elevated to the position of petty kings did not quite relish this fresh move; and two of them, Zibebu and Hamu, fought on one side in their own interests against the tribesmen who, on the other side, contended for the rights of the ex-king and his family. The chiefs, being assisted by a band of white freebooters, inflicted such punishment on the loyal Zulus that when Cetywayo arrived from his place of exile near Cape Town, he had only a part of his old realm to reign over; while by the conditions of his restoration he was prohibited from undertaking any military enterprise, or even defensive operations. The folly of this opportunism was speedily apparent. A collision soon took place, in which Cetywayo, whose old vigour had not been improved by two visits to England and a brief familiarity with the civilisation of Cape Town, had the worst of the encounter. Then, on the 22nd of July,



LORD WOLSELEY.

(From a Photograph by Fradelle, Regent Street, W.)

1883, Zibebu followed up his victory by a sudden descent on Cetywayo's kraal at Ulundi, which he destroyed, after massacring every resident who could not find safety in flight. The king himself took sanctuary in the

Reserve which had been put under British rule mainly for the purpose of affording an asylum for refugees desirous of escaping the consequences of taking sides in the internecine quarrels; and there he died of his wounds in the year 1884.

Zululand was now in a worse condition than before. Both it and Britain were paying the penalty incurred by British statesmen not having the courage of living up to their acts—in short, of one set of men doing something for which another set were reluctant to take the consequences. But while the Imperial Government refused to pacify a country which by their proceedings had been involved in anarchy, the Boer adventurers from the Transvaal, who had sold their services to the rival chiefs, succeeded in obtaining the best part of the country for the Dutch Republic, in which the government they established soon merged. This compelled the British to interfere, when it was too late to do much good. Accordingly, in 1887, the rest of the country was annexed and is now governed by the colony of Natal, through local officials, under the name of British Zululand. Its entire area is about 9,000 square miles, containing 160,000 natives and 700 whites. The capital is at Etshowe, but native laws, so far as they are consonant with humanity, are still in force. A hut-tax of fourteen shillings a year is about the only contribution the natives are required to make to the revenue of thirty or forty thousand pounds per annum. Cattle-breeding is the principal occupation, and what grain is grown is consumed in the country. Barter is general, money being scarce, and, of the many minerals known to exist in Zululand, gold is at present the only one worked.* Thus it happened that Sir Bartle Frere attacked Zululand as a step in carrying out his policy of South African Confederation,

* Jenkinson: "Amazulu" (1882); Tylor: "Forty Years among the Zulus" (1892); Colenso: "The Ruin of Zululand" (1884-85); Leslie: "Among the Zulus" (1875); Rider Haggard: "Cetywayo and his White Neighbours; or, Remarks on Recent Events in Zululand, Natal, and the Transvaal" (2nd Edition, 1888), etc.

with the result that, through 'meddling and muddling,' that desirable consummation was not advanced one step, and while the Zulus have not benefited, the Transvaal, which bore none of the brunt of battle, carried off the chief prize of Britain's costly victory.

The fate which overtook the Zulus has, however, been that which has overtaken every savage race in South Africa.

Bechuana-
land.

They stood in the white man's way, and had to make room for him. This being inevitable, it might have been better to recognise it at the outset, without the misery and bloodshed, and waste of time and money, which followed an attempt to ignore the lessons of history and the suggestion of common sense. But the old policy of the mother country holding back while the colonists pushed on was not to end with Zululand. Great Britain had surrendered the Transvaal, which Sir Garnet Wolsley had declared * no political party in England would dare to surrender, and Lord Kimberley had demonstrated † could not be receded after the British had done so wisely or unwisely—there are still differences of opinion—as to annex it.

Yet the British were not to hear the last of that step. They dealt, for the most part, with ignorant men, who could not realise that Britain did not evacuate the Transvaal because she was in any way convinced of the Boers' invulnerability. Well-informed Boers knew a great deal better; but the youth in search of big farms, plunder, and adventures, imagined that poor Jan Bull would tolerate anything rather than run the risk of another Amajuba Hill. Accordingly, the first result of what has been called "the finest thing in history" was not admiration, not gratitude, but a raid by the Boers on Bechuanaland, a country which we have already visited with the missionaries and the hunters (Vol. III., pp. 127, 203, etc.). Threatened from the north by the Matabele and from the east

by the Zuid-Afrikander Republicans, the Bechuanas, many of whom, like Khama's people, were partially Christianised and civilised, had a dismal prospect before them. The filibustering expeditions from the Transvaal were not formally patronised or even recognised by the Republic. But President Krüger



SIR CHARLES WARREN, R.E.

(From a Photograph by Fradelle, Regent Street, W.)

not only did not "damp the trek," as the phrase is, but is known to have actually held friendly relations with some of the raiders. The consequence was that the country soon got overrun with these adventurers, who founded—on paper—two so-called republics, namely, Stellaland and Goshen, or Rooi Grond, and used them as bases for freebooting expeditions.

All negotiations having failed, an expedition was sent under Sir Charles Warren, R.E., with orders to clear the country of these intruders. What might have happened need not now be discussed. For the people who were carving up Bechuanaland amongst them fled at the approach of the forces without attempting to strike a blow. Having done this much, nothing was then possible except to extend British authority over the entire region by declaring ‡ the country north of the Molopo a Protectorate, and the region between that river and the Cape territory a Crown Colony. By this means the westward advance of the Boers into the Bamangwato

* Speech at a public banquet in Pretoria, 17th December, 1879.

† Speech in the House of Lords, 24th May, 1880.

‡ On March 23rd, 1885.

(Vol. II., p. 179; Vol. III., p. 193), Bakhatla, Bamaliti, Bakwena, Bangwaketsi, and Baralong countries (all under the Protectorate) trusted. Their people had for more than half a century been settled in parts of it from which the native population had been driven away by the raids of Moselikatse, the Matabele chief; and this section of it, the Cis-Molopo country, the Transvaal Republic always claimed as an integral portion of that state.



THE HILL OF ISANDULA AND CAIRN
RAISED ON THE SPOT WHERE
THE ROYAL CARBINEERS FELL

was prevented, and the great trade route, which passes from Cape Colony through Hopetown and Shoshong to the Zambesi, kept open.* Policy alone justified this course. For, undoubtedly, the Boers had a certain claim to exploit Bechuanaland, if their way of proceeding could have been

* Mackenzie: "Austral Africa: Losing it or Ruling it" (2 vols., 1887). The work contains in a semi-official form the British view of the question, by the Deputy-Commissioner of Bechuanaland. The Boer version of the dispute may be found in Dr. Clark's "The Transvaal and Bechuanaland," and "Bechuanaland. By a Member of the Cape Legislature" (1885).

The ethics of African annexations do not always bear strict analysis. In this case, however, the end justified the means; and, unquestionably, the resolution arrived at in 1885 has



RORKE'S DRIFT: AS IT IS TO-DAY.
(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)

secured peace to the country and protection to the natives until such time as those living under the Protectorate shall be duly absorbed into the Cape Colony or South African Confederation of the future.

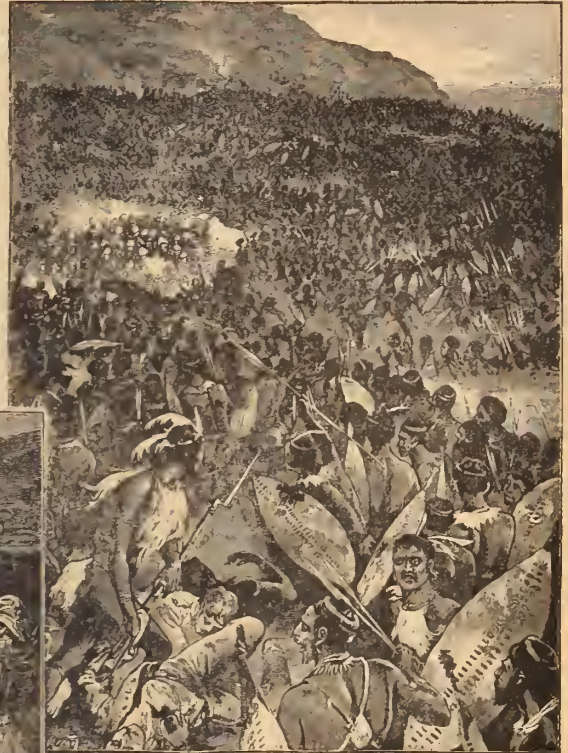
The total area of the Crown Colony is about 71,000 out of the 170,000 square miles comprised in the entire territory that goes by the name of Bechuanaland. In the British portion the population is about 61,000, of whom 48,000 are natives living in fixed localities and paying hut-tax. Nominally under the Governor of the Cape Colony, Bechuanaland is ruled by an Administrator, and the peace kept by a body of semi-military police. Like most of the neighbouring region, the

found, though not as yet in large quantities, so that the industries are mainly pastoral. The revenue, of between £140,000 and £150,000, is for the most part made up of a hut-tax of ten shillings a head and a Parliamentary grant



DEFENCE OF RORKE'S DRIFT: THE MORNING AFTER.

country is healthy and well adapted for cattle-raising and maize-growing; though the scarcity of water is a drawback. Gold, lead, silver, iron, and diamonds (p. 144) have been



THE LAST STAND AT ISANDULA.

of £100,000. But Bechuanaland is still a very quiet-going part of the world, and Vryburg, the capital of the colony—a settlement originally formed by the Stelaland Republic—and Palapahwe (Vol. II., p. 179), the chief places in the Protectorate, are likely to continue very unpretending metropolises until the Bechuanaland Railway enters these somnolent spots.

Gold has from time immemorial been associated with Africa. The recent investigations of Mr. Bent* have proved conclusively that the metal was mined in Mashonaland, most probably by Arabs, in pre-Mohammedan times, ages before

Gold.

* "The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland" (1892).

the Portuguese, in their eager search after "ouro," failed to stumble on the scene of their predecessors' labour. In West and Central Africa gold (Vol. I., pp. 43, 122) has been won ever since any tidings of that region have reached us. Herodotus refers to it. It is still a common article of trade on the Gold Coast: and though several European companies (p. 21) have essayed the task of seeking it, in most cases it has been found that the cost of working, by any method save the simplest, leaves too little profit to satisfy the shareholders in a limited company. As yet the reefs from whence this placer gold comes have not been found or even searched for. Nor has the source of the gold-dust brought from the Atlas in Morocco ever been reached by an European. In short, the precious metal is found in almost every part of Africa, though it is only within recent years that it has been systematically mined by white men, or obtained on a scale large enough to influence the exchanges of Christendom. Indeed, it was not until Carl Mauch, a German geologist, rediscovered—though he has rivals for that distinction—the ruins in Mashonaland, that attention was generally directed to the subject by the notion still entertained that he had lit upon the Ophir of King Solomon. This was in the year 1865.

Mauch's discoveries of the Tati gold-fields (Vol. III., p. 294), in Matabeleland, however,

**The Tati
gold-fields.**

than did those of Hartley and Baines in the same region. Aided

by "Oude Baas," as Hartley, the noted elephant-hunter (Vol. III., p. 215), was known among the Dutch, Thomas Baines (Vol. II., p. 238; Vol. III., p. 213) conducted an expedition on the part of some English speculators from Durban into Matabeleland, and in 1870 received permission from Lo-Bengula to dig for gold anywhere between the Gwailo and Ganyana Rivers. But though some work is still in progress at Tati, none of the pioneers of those days were successful in establishing mines which would pay the expense of working, though gold-bearing reefs

were abundant.* A few prospectors hied them to the Tati country, and the exaggerated reports which reached Australia induced a number of men from Victoria to make for the same region. But the difficulty of reaching the country and the poor returns, compared with the superior attractions of the diamond-mines, soon stemmed the current flowing in that direction, until Tati was deserted and almost forgotten. The pioneers who had borne the toils and hardships and disappointments of those early days did not live to benefit by the better times which were soon to follow. Poor Baines, to whom South Africa owes a debt which cannot now be repaid, died on the 8th of May, 1875, leaving behind him pleasant memories of indomitable courage, steadfastness of purpose, and, in spite of the somewhat sordid pursuits to which he devoted his latter days, of singular unselfishness.† In the course of his journey he passed through Potchefstroom and Pretoria, and, consequently, close to the spot where the now flourishing town of Johannesburg was to rise, without dreaming of the wealth that lay under his feet. This was irony enough. Yet fate had a mockery even worse in store for the gold-hunter who had travelled so far to win so little. For, as Mr. Reunert points out, on Baines' map the following note may be read: "Farm of H. Hartley, Pioneer of the Gold-fields." Now, this farm is actually situated on Witwatersrand, where this famous elephant-hunter "retired to meditate, no doubt, on the incredulity of the world that would not believe in the existence of gold in South Africa."

**The Trans-
vaal gold-
mines.**

It was only when the first excitement over the diamond-fields had subsided that the gold finds of the north began to claim some attention. In 1873 the Landdrost of Lydenburg had announced alluvial gold thirty-three miles east of that town, and for a time 1,500

* Theal: "History of South Africa: Republics and Native Territory, from 1854 to 1872," pp. 232-233, and "South Africa" (1894), in "Story of Nations" Series.

† Baines: "Gold Regions of South-East. Africa" (1877); Noble: "Official Handbook of Cape and South Africa" (1893); Moodie: "History of the Battles, etc." (1888), etc.



ALLUVIAL WASHING AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOLD-FIELDS.

(From a Photograph by Gancey.)

men were engaged on these deposits, many large nuggets being found, and no inconsiderable quantity of dust obtained. Hitherto the reefs had not received much notice, the means of testing them not being at hand, when the war with Sekukuni and the deplorable disturbances in the Transvaal put a stop to further progress.

It is not improbable that, had the wealth of the Dutch Republic been then as fully known as it is at present, British virtue might have been proof against any suggestions of receding it to the Boers. But, luckily for them, and perhaps fortunately for "the finest thing in history," it was not until 1882 that the "rush" to the Devil's Kantoor called attention to the mineral wealth of the Transvaal. Mining concessions had been granted by the Government to a few capitalists, and numerous companies had been floated on the basis of these, often very illiberal, grants. Soon, however, every farmer who had a reef, or the promise of a reef, on his land, was besieged by a host of adventurers, who before the deeds for the sale of his pasturage got well out of the solicitor's hands, were on their way to London to add one more to the many schemes for getting rich in which the promoters so kindly permitted the world to share.

By 1885 Barberton, named after the Brothers Barber, arose in the De Kaap district, then thought to be the richest gold county in the Transvaal. And when "Bray's Golden Quarry" (p. 156), as the Sheba Company was then called, yielded twelve ounces to the ton of rock, it was not difficult to sell anything in the nature of a reef if within measurable distance of the new El Dorado. The shares in this "mountain of gold" bounded up from £1 to £100, while stock in neighbouring mines on which no work had been done were readily saleable at thirty times their nominal value. But though the Sheba mine continues to turn out 3,000 ounces per month, the De Kaap district has not justified the expectations formed of it, and it is still suffering from the feverish excitement of its

early years. Indeed, the Transvaal gold-fields were in danger of being hastily pronounced a swindle—as a great many of the individual companies then and subsequently undoubtedly were—when the richness of Witwatersrand amply re-established their reputation. This region—the "Rand" of common parlance—is now the chief mining district of the Transvaal, and the site of Johannesburg,* the principal centre of the speculation that has gathered around the endless reefs so familiar on the Stock Exchange as members of what is irreverently known as the "Kaffir Circus." Like all such cities, the mining metropolis of South Africa (p. 136) is not a thing of beauty. Nor is it a cheap place to live in, and perhaps, from a moral point of view, Johannesburg is not what Mr. Lowell's friend would have called "quite the town for a deacon." Men make money quickly, and spend it recklessly, after the fashion with which Australia, California, and other gold countries have familiarised us. The beggar of to-day may be the millionaire of to-morrow, and *vice versa*. Naturally all class distinctions are effaced. Ignorance flaunts in silks and diamonds, and learning is valued in an exact ratio to the power it gives the possessor of finding reefs, or developing them, or, what is perhaps even more important, "floating" these ugly-looking rocks among the simple ones of the earth. For, of the 22,000 people in Johannesburg, every one is so interested, directly or indirectly, in reefs that, were these to give out, not a soul—not even the 7,000 Kaffirs—would have an address within miles of it. How many mines are in the "Rand" and other districts, only Capel Court and the Johannesburg Chamber of Mines can say; but how many of the fancifully named companies which work or intend to work them live up to their prospectuses, not even Johannesburg would like to affirm. Still, after weeding out a few hundred dubious ones, and a still greater number regarding which there need be no doubt at all,

* Lat. 26° 11' 44" S., and long. 30° 52' 10" E.; height above the sea 5,735 feet (Melville).

there is an amazing amount of gold crushed every day out of the rock. In 1892, for example, two produced between them over

In all the neighbouring countries more or less gold is found. Thus the gold export of Natal has risen from £250 in 1870 to £333.117



DE KAAP GOLD-FIELDS: SHEBA HILL,
SHOWING BRAY'S GOLDEN QUARRY.

(From a Photograph by Mr. R. Harris, Port Elizabeth.)

£800,000, and many from a quarter of a million down to a humble £260 per annum. Of course, this does not all go to profit, for the Rand mines, in spite of the proximity of coal, are costly to work. Thus the highest dividend was, in 1892, 125 per cent.; while even the reef which yielded £486,000 worth of gold only returned a poor 7 per cent. to its shareholders. Of the 1,260,116 ounces of raw gold exported from South Africa, the Transvaal contributed the greatest amount.*

* The Rand output in 1893 was 1,478,473 ounces, and the total amount exported from outside regions about 115,000 ounces. The seeming discrepancy of the gold exported from South Africa being less than the yield of the Transvaal is accounted for by a large amount being retained in the country, or being shipped without being officially reported, or by being minted. Moreover, the export returns are made up on the 31st December, while the production for that month is not declared until the 10th of January.

in 1892; and while the Cape did not produce any in the years of which we speak, there is now a prospect of the Kysnna and other districts proving auriferous to a paying extent; the large exports of gold from Cape Town being, of course, produced by the Transvaal. The Transvaal gold-fields present many features which distinguish them from the older ones in Russia, America, and Australia. There much of the gold has been, and is still, found in alluvial deposits, or "placers," as they are called in California, and the rest in quartz veins traversing other rocks, from which the alluvial gold has been derived in the course of the matrix in which it is contained wearing away under the action of the weather and rivers. In South Africa the conditions are entirely different. Little placer gold is

Reef and
banket.

obtained, though much must exist. In the older mining countries—Mr. Reunert, from whom these facts have been derived, remarks—the accidental discovery of nuggets in the drifts and old river-beds led to gold being traced to its source in the mountains. “Here all is very different. We have discovered no alluvial fields, and what we call ‘reefs’ are not reefs in the usually accepted sense of the word. In the Barberton district, the most valuable mines are in massive beds of quartzite, carrying gold distributed in rich zones through a great body of rock. In the Lyden-

fissure-veins of other countries. Finally, in the Johannesburg mines and similar formations scattered at isolated points over South Africa, the gold occurs in conglomerates interbedded with sandstones and quartzites.” This “pudding-stone”—locally known as “banket,” from its resemblance to the sweetmeat called “almond-rock” in English—constitutes the most novel, if not the most unique, of mines, for it is found in California and elsewhere, and of all the mother-rocks it is the richest in the precious metal.* Yet, as a rule, the gold-mines of South Africa do

Dear Gold.



FROM PHOTOS
"PROSPECTING" AT THE
GOLD-FIELDS.

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)

burg and other districts, the gold is found in thin beds of quartz, interstratified with the shales and sandstones, and not cutting across the strike and dip of the strata, as is the common practice of the great gold-bearing

not pay. There is gold, and plenty of it, and what there is, even when in very moderate

* Reunert: "Diamonds and Gold in South Africa," p. 92. For the most concise and accurate account of the gold-formations of the Transvaal the reader is referred to this excellent volume.

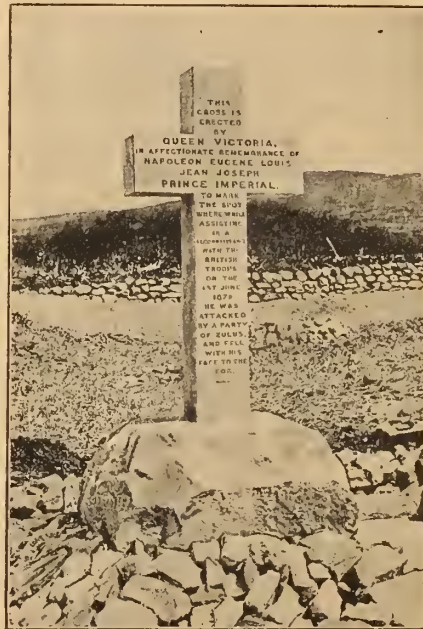
quantities, is so regularly distributed that the dividend from a mine, once the mine reaches that happy stage, is about as steady as an income from the Two and a Half Per Cents. But the truth is that in most cases, the gold has taken more money to extract it from the rock than it is worth after being converted into ingots. Charges are so costly. Freight is extremely high, owing to the long road from the sea; while the heavy taxes, and high rate of wages, with perhaps the reaction which has followed the "boom" of former years, make Johannesburg an expensive place in which to do business. All this—all at least of any moment—will pass away, and when the cost of working a gold-mine in the Rand is more moderate, hundreds of reefs now deserted will be sources of wealth to those who wince when the name of the company in which their money has been sunk is mentioned.*

In the meantime, while the Transvaal is repeating the tale of every gold-mining country, South Africa is filling with men even more rapidly than it did after the discovery of the Griqualand diamonds. In 1878 the white population of the Transvaal was computed at 40,000. In 1894 it did not contain fewer than 170,000; and, as the Dutch had not notably increased in numbers, the majority of this total were foreigners. Of these new-comers three-fourths were Englishmen, and all were English-speakers; so that, at the smallest calculation, the Trans-

vaalers were in a minority to the Britons from whom they and their ancestors fled so often.

The effect of this was very soon apparent. Already, indeed, the Volksraad had been compelled to moderate the imposts by which the men who were making the country really provided about one-half the revenue. The Transvaal was no longer poor, and its farmers have in many cases become very rich. But it was idle to suppose that the English miners and traders would always submit to be the most important people in a part of South Africa in the government of which they had no voice, unless after a tedious process of naturalisation; and in the course of a few years the situation became very critical.

In this manner, by ways devious and often not very moral, by "rushes" after diamonds and gold, by native wars and white anarchy, the British have become the dominant race in South Africa—in spite of the Imperial Government pulling back, while the colonists push forward. The Dutch and the English must in time amalgamate, and when this union is complete the confederation of South Africa



CROSS ERECTED BY H.M. THE QUEEN IN MEMORY OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL.

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)

will have been begun. We have now arrived at a period when all the country lies, with the exception of a few patches nominally independent, in the White Man's power. These have been left as little monuments to our scruples—testimonials that, in eating up the Black Man's land, we had the utmost regard for his rights. This is well; for in the next chapter we shall find Europe acting with such calm disregard for any old-fashioned prejudices of that sort, that the generation which witnessed its proceedings might be in danger of forgetting that they ever existed.

The Anglicising of the Transvaal.

* Alford: "Geological Features of the Transvaal" (1891); Jeppe, "The Zoutpansberg Gold-fields" (*Geographical Journal*, pp. 213-237, September, 1893); Knoekenhauer: "Die Goldfelder Transvaal" (1890), etc.

CHAPTER X.

A SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA: THE BERLIN CONFERENCE.

Civilised Settlements—The Arab Sultanates of Asiatic Origin—No Settlement of Native Africans, except Liberia—Liberia—The Maryland Republic—A Commonwealth of Black Freedmen—Its Condition—What it Suggested to King Leopold—Belgian Enterprise Takes a Fresh Departure—The Congo—The International African Association Merges into the Comité des Études du Haut-Congo—The Comité Becomes the Association Internationale du Congo, and the Association Emerges from the Diplomatic Alembic as the King of the Belgians—Mr. Stanley's Expedition to Organise Stations on the Congo—Troubles with France through M. De Brazza—A *Modus Vivendi*—Portugal Objects—The Congo Treaty—A Universal Protest—The Treaty Abandoned—Some Peculiar Proceedings of Germany—Prince Bismarck Pits his Wits against Lord Granville's—The Result in Damaraland and Namaqualand—Herr Lüderitz and the Angra Pequena Incident—The Annexation of South-West Africa by Germany—Dr. Nachtigal's Crime—The Picking-up of Unconsidered Colonies—Togoland and the Cameroons—Santa Lucia Bay—The Berlin Conference and its General Act—The Congo Free State is Decreed—The Niger Valley is Given to Britain, and the Rest of West Africa Partitioned—A New Code of Morals—The Scramble Begun, and the Rules of the Game Laid Down.

THIS has been a long interlude in our story; but it was very necessary to make it. For, while the bolder spirits have been exploring Africa, the missionaries doing what in them lay to civilise it, and the hunters to slay its wild animals, the colonists, with a courage not less admirable, have been making homes in its more favourable parts, and the traders and miners exploiting lands too hot or too bleak, or too pestilent, for the permanent residence of Europeans. Hence a girdle of black Frances, and Spains, and Portugals, and Britains, had in course of time, by the various means already described, surrounded, and gradually more and more approached, the interior. As yet, however, leaving out of account Egypt, Zanzibar, Morocco, and Liberia, there were no civilised states in continental Africa, with the exception of the European colonies and the ancient principalities of Tripoli and Tunis, now almost completely under the rule of the Grand Turk and the Franks. The interior empires and kingdoms were more or less barbarous, and all of the coast chieftaindoms sunk in the lowest depths of savagedom, while the origin of Egypt, Morocco, and Zanzibar was in Arab conquests, the character of which has been sufficiently indicated.

Liberia alone was an avowed attempt to create an independent Christian commonwealth out of African materials without

keeping it, like Sierra Leone, in the leading-strings of its white patrons, though in some respects it was a direct imitation of that experiment in the civilisation of the black man. It owed its initiation to the American Colonisation Society, which, in 1821, bought land on the Grain Coast of Guinea, with the object of settling there a number of freed African slaves. Stimulated by exotic civilisation and money, the settlement grew so rapidly that on the 24th of August, 1847, it was constituted the free and independent republic of Liberia, with Monrovia as its capital. In the course of the next few years, thanks to the abolition movement, then very hotly at work both in America and in England, the Liberian citizens so increased that they four times enlarged their bounds, and incorporated the rival negro commonwealth of Maryland,* which, beginning in 1821 as a colony to the east of Cape Palmas, became a republic in 1857. Liberia is framed broadly

Liberia.

The republic of Maryland.

* This community was established by the Maryland Colonisation Society on such strictly temperance principles that no intoxicating liquor was allowed to be sold. In 1833 and 1835 a Quaker colony from Pennsylvania, consisting of trained artisans, joined Liberia. But up to 1847 the Republic was simply an informal dependency of the United States, which declined under the auspices of the then dominant Slavery party to exert any influence in favour of this settlement of its "coloured" citizens. It was, indeed, not recognised by Washington until 1862.

on the principles of the United States, from whence most of the better-educated citizens came, though, wisely, no white man was at first permitted the privilege of its freedom. Slavery is declared illegal. But since the abolition of this "peculiar institution" in America, interest in Liberia has grown less and less keen, and the prosperity of the republic has proportionately declined. Monrovia* (p. 95) has become shabbier and shabbier, and the value of the trade (coffee, palm-oil, cocoa, sugar, arrowroot, hides, etc.), which at one time exceeded £500,000, is not increasing. The only civilised population, out of more than a million, are the 18,000 American negroes or their descendants, the rest being half- or wholly savage tribesmen, including Kroomen, who are for the most part employed as labourers on vessels cruising or trading off the west coast of Africa (Vol. III., p. 122); but on these the Liberians have made little impression. Indeed, they rather despise this

burlesque of the Great Republic, with its consuls and ambassadors, its President and Governors, its Senate and House of Representatives, its public debt, and the eternal talk of its professional politicians, who, like amateur preachers, are very abundant in

Liberia. For when it suits them, they make war on their civilised fellow-citizens or rulers, and do not always get the worst of it. Attempts have been made to induce more of the American negroes to emigrate to this presumable African paradise, but, as yet, these efforts have not been successful. The reports which come from Monrovia are not attractive enough to induce the freedmen to

A negro common-wealth on a white model.

throw in their lot with their repatriated countrymen, who have not only failed to civilise the savages around them, but, under the influence of the extremely torrid climate of Liberia, have displayed a perilous tendency to relapse into that barbarism from which they were lifted during their residence in the land of bondage. Like many of their race, when left to themselves, without the stimulus of extraneous civilisation, and the example of the white man immediately before them to mimic, the Liber-



BOPOTO (CONGO) MAN, AN AVOWED CANNIBAL.†

(From a Photograph by the Rev. R. D. Darby.)

ians are neither progressing nor even keeping up to their former standard. With some notable exceptions—for the most part, men who have been educated in Europe or America—they bear the reputation of being lazy and quarrelsome, and more apt to ape the vices than the virtues of the whites.‡

* Among the other towns are Harper, with a population estimated at 11,000, Buchanan and Edina, with 5,000 (or as many as the capital), and Robert's Port (named after the first President of Liberia), with 1,200.

† The ornamentation is accomplished by cutting the flesh and pushing into the wound small pebbles and sand, which become buried in the tissues.

‡ Büttikofer: "Reisebilder aus Liberia," 2 vols. (1890); Wauwermans: "Liberia" (1885); Stockwell: "The Republic of Liberia" (1868); Schwarz: "Einiges über das interne Leben der Eingebornen Liberias" (*Deutsche Kolonialzeitung*, December 15, 1887); Bourzeix: "La République de Liberia" (1887); Maxwell: "The Negro Question" (1892). (a Liberian view), etc.

They have, moreover, not avoided the temptation of getting into debt without seeing their way to pay either principal or interest; and it is quite open to doubt, considering the dubious character of the accessions thus obtained, whether the rescinding of the law against white men acquiring land will be eventually to the benefit of the republic. A characteristic tendency to self-importance has more than once got the Liberians into trouble with their powerful neighbours, while

been regarded by it as its protector and resource in every trouble.

Yet in 1884 the example of Liberia raised it sufficiently above the savagedom around it to render the idea of a Congo duplicate of it on a larger scale, and under more august auspices, one of the politico-philanthropic ideas which ever since the Brussels Conference of 1876 had been simmering in the mind of King Leopold. The International Association, we have seen (Vol. III.,



BOMA, CONGO RIVER. (*From a Photograph.*)

a lust for more land* than they are ever likely to utilise has at times brought them into collision with their best friends. Thus the expedition of Benjamin Anderson in 1868 and 1869 resulted in the annexation of territory reaching as far as 9° 30' North Latitude on the sources of the Upper Niger, a part of the country now within the French sphere of influence. Its northern boundaries also caused, in 1883, friction with England, though this country has always, until recently, even while curbing the extravagant pretensions of Liberia,

* They have already, according to widely varying estimates, from 14,000 to 35,000 square miles.

p. 286), had soon ceased to be worthy of the name. Few of the countries or committees that had joined it in a half-hearted way did any work, and those which maintained a semblance of activity preferred to reserve their funds for projects more directly under their own control and for their special interest than, it was evident, would be any of the schemes so airily discussed at the Conference. Thus at the time when Mr. Stanley descended the Congo (Vol. II., pp. 303-312), the old Association had become virtually the King of the Belgians, what work it accomplished being almost entirely at his

expense. The interest in the vast waterway which had been roused by the Anglo-American explorer's letters culminated in a meeting in Brussels on the 2nd of January, 1879, when it was resolved, with the nominal acquiescence of Belgium, England, France, Holland, and the United States, that a "Comité des Études du Haut-Congo" should be formed for studying and exploiting the

Committee
for investi-
gating the
Upper Congo.

river of which Mr. Stanley had given so vivid a picture. As an indispensable preliminary, Mr. Stanley was appointed to carry out the new projects of the Belgian king, and from that day the International African Association may be said to have ceased to exist, and the energies to which it gave rise, so far as the Belgians were concerned, to have concentrated themselves on the Congo. Even the new "Comité," which was understood at first to be a mere branch of the shadowy parent association, ceased to be "international" before Mr. Stanley reached the river of so many triumphs and hopes and failures. For it was resolved to return the money subscribed by merchants of various nationalities, so that the expedition which Mr. Stanley led, though composed of men of many languages, was in its initiation, cost, and control entirely Belgian.

The new association assumed the title of "L'Association Internationale du Congo." But, as Count Hippolyte d'Ursel tells us, in this society, as in the one which preceded it, the king was practically the only member.* Apart from his ambition for Belgium, which even then might have been actuating its sovereign, King Leopold did wisely in abandoning, as far as possible, any affectation of an international character for the enterprise on which he had now entered. The heterogeneous character of the expedition—English, American, Scandinavian, Belgian, French—it was soon apparent, even had the members had any experience of Africa, or the majority of them any capacity for gaining it, was from

the outset a hindrance to the work. Yet with bad material, and in spite of international jealousies, the task which Mr. Stanley had undertaken was vigorously continued by the aid of the steamers—the *En Avant*, *Le Royal*, and the *A. I. A.* (Association Internationale Africaine)—now placed on the river. In November, 1879, Vivi,† the first station on the river, was founded, and in regular succession, as the expedition advanced, Isanghila, Manyanga, and Leopoldville at Stanley Pool, on the Upper Congo, were established. At the same time, treaties were formed with the native chiefs, and the way generally was paved for the still greater scheme then looming in the near distance.

After a brief holiday in Europe, the founder of the Congo civilisation returned to complete the work he had begun, though not without witnessing the devastation wrought by the Nyangwé Arab slave-traders, who had penetrated along the route taken by Stanley during his famous descent of the river. Up to that date no trader had ever passed the Yellala Falls; but at the mouth of the river—chiefly at Banana (p. 164)—there had for long been factories of English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese firms, who did not altogether regard the fresh departure with much goodwill; since Belgian trading-posts on the Upper River would necessarily intercept a large portion of the traffic which had hitherto fallen to their share.

The new International Association of the Congo met, however, with more serious obstacles from two opposite quarters.

We have already seen (Vol. III., p. 291) that the French, under M. De Brazza, had been making explorations ostensibly under the International African Association, but from the first with but little regard to the disinterested motives which were supposed to animate that baseless scheme, and latterly without even a pretence of carrying

Trouble from
France.

† The native town from which it takes its name is mentioned by Tucker, who penetrated to the Falls, as Banza Bibbi. Being very unhealthy, it was afterwards abandoned in favour of Matadi.

* "L'Œuvre du Roi au Congo" (1890).

out any design more philanthropic than the aggrandisement of France. With this intention, he founded a station, which he called Franceville, on the Ogowé, and descending the Lefini (or Luvu) to the Congo, made a comprehensive "treaty" with a chief who affected to be suzerain of all the country, by which this magnate put himself under the protection of France, and "accepted its flag." Crossing over to the south side of Stanley Pool, De Brazza founded another station (Brazzaville) close to where Leopoldville now stands, and, distributing more flags, which, doubtless, the recipients regarded as akin to those "moral pocket-handkerchiefs" with which the ingenuity of European gin-dealers had already familiarised them, proceeded to recruit his jaded energies by a brief stay with Mr. Stanley at one of his posts down the river.

Not a word, however, did the French lieutenant say about his proceedings, so that it was only on Mr. Stanley reaching Stanley Pool that he learned, from the Senegalese sergeant in charge of Brazzaville, of the delicate manner in which his recent guest had been trying to anticipate him and the Association under which they were both supposed to be acting. The indignation of the explorer, founder, and organiser of what was virtually a state under the direction of the Congo Association, or of its royal president, was naturally expressed in strong language as soon as he could reach Paris, where already M. De Brazza was enjoying the noisy applause of his ill-informed admirers. Mutual explanations and the good sense not lacking in high quarters patched up matters for the time being, after it was seen that the officious chief with whom the all-embracing treaty had been signed was a mere local dignitary, and by-and-by Brazzaville was removed to the other side of Stanley Pool (Vol. III., p. 118).

But this incident, and the recrimination to which it gave rise, demonstrated clearly enough to the few who still clung to a belief in the Brussels Conference that the instrument then formulated had long ceased to be much

more than waste-paper. The millennium had not dawned, and now it was only too evident that even the brief period of good feeling had been dissipated by the unrepudiated action of a French agent. The Congo Valley could no longer be under the sole control of the International Association or its successor, and with the act by which Europe was awakened rudely from this dream the indecorous "scramble for Africa" began.

All this time Portugal had been eyeing the proceedings of France and the Congo Association, which it chose in some way to associate with Great Britain, in Portugal
objects. not the most benevolent of moods.

For ages her claims on the West African shore had been large and indefinite, and, as we have seen, the kingdom of Congo had of old been included in that territory which, until somebody coveted it, the mistress of so many ineffectively occupied portions of what Mr. Stanley had so aptly termed the Dark Continent regarded without interest. Her subjects and her serfs had lived for centuries in sight of the Congo; yet until the Congo Association and the Powers concerned with its establishment, or, as in the case of France, intent on thwarting it, began to show a design of exploiting that river and its tributaries, she had never displayed the slightest concern either in this vast flood or the country which it drained, except as a source of slaves.

At intervals, however, Portugal had proclaimed her rights over the West African coast from 5° 12' to 8° South Latitude, and more especially had she been jealous of her ownership of Molemba and Kabinda on each side of the Congo mouth. Yet, though the King of Portugal included the lordship of these tropical tracts among his many titles, England, the only nation which in the least degree busied itself with this part of the African shore, never admitted that the northern boundaries of Angola stretched beyond Anbriz, a considerable distance south of the Congo mouth. The rest of the country was a No-Man's-Land, in the sense that territory

occupied by native tribes was regarded in that light. In 1882 the proceedings of De Brazza afforded the Portuguese Government a fresh opportunity of restating their old claim, though it was perfectly well known to the Lisbon authorities that, as early as 1856, orders had been issued to the English cruisers to prevent, by force, if necessary, the representatives of His Very Faithful Majesty from extending his authority north of Ambriz. The persistence of Portugal, which had failed to have any effect on his predecessors, was, however, so far successful with Lord Granville that on the 26th of February, 1884, a treaty was entered into, by which, after certain stipulations regarding the freedom of the Congo to all flags, the equal privileges of all traders, the imposition of moderate tariffs, and—of course—the suppression of the slave trade, Great Britain acknowledged her often-reiterated claim to the 168 miles of disputed shore. However, the desire of Portugal for indefinite extension to the east for the purpose of connecting her dominions on both sides of Africa, which had always been denied, was now more than ever regarded as out of the question: light had begun to dawn in London.

The Anglo-
Portuguese
Congo
Treaty.

But by the new treaty she was permitted to extend her boundaries as far as Noki (p. 165), on the south bank of the Congo below Vivi. The freedom of navigation on the Zambesi was also allowed, and, though Lord Granville would have preferred to put the navigation of the Congo under an International Commission, in deference to Portugal this was altered to an Anglo-Portuguese control. Had he insisted on his original proposal, the treaty might have been permitted to stand, and the subsequent Anglo-Portuguese troubles regarding Nyassaland and the Zambesi been avoided. For it is said, on good authority,* that all the time Lord Granville was granting Portugal such liberal terms, and Mr. Stanley organising the stations on the upper river, they were, for what reason it is hard to understand, labouring under the delusion that, after the Congo Association had completed its work, the King of the Belgians would hand over his expensive toy to Great Britain.

* Keltie: "The Partition of Africa," p. 143. Our space does not permit more than an outline of this chapter in the diplomatic history of Africa; but in Mr. Keltie's admirable work the negotiations which led to the "scramble" are treated with great fulness and accuracy, illustrated by a wealth of carefully compiled maps, to which the reader may be safely referred.



TRADING ESTABLISHMENT AT BANANA, CONGO RIVER.

(From a Photograph by Mr. R. C. Phillips, Manchester.)

Unless the Belgian sovereign had given grounds for this impression of his disinterestedness, it may be set down as a specimen of the

the Powers most active in repudiating the claims of Portugal conceded in the new treaty was Germany. Indeed, it was mainly owing



NOKI, ON THE CONGO RIVER.
(From a Photograph by Mr. R. C. Phillips.)

combined credulity and duplicity which the Brussels Congress had set afloat between 1876 and 1884. But, as King Leopold's subsequent conduct entirely contradicted this notion, it is unnecessary to discuss the rather mixed morality of the case. The views of the Powers were, however, not long permitted to remain in doubt. France, when approached privately during the period that negotiations were in progress, refused to listen to a proposal which would not permit the Congo Association and herself to reach their newly acquired areas except through foreign territory, and the universal protest with which all the other European Powers received the treaty justified the hesitation with which the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had signed it. Among

to the energetic action of Prince Bismarck that on the 26th of June, 1884, Lord Granville intimated the abandonment of the Congo Treaty, and his willingness to submit this and other international questions connected with Africa to a conference which it was proposed to hold in Berlin.*

* The literature to which the Congo dispute gave rise is voluminous. The following documents have been consulted:—Santarem: "A Statement of Facts," etc. (1850); Bandeira: "Faits et Considerations," etc. (1856); "Africa No. 2 (1883): Correspondence Respecting the Territory on the West Coast of Africa, lying between 5° 12' and 8° of South Latitude, 1845-77" (Blue-Book); Du Fief: "La Question du Congo depuis son Origine jusqu'aujourd'hui" (1885); Twiss: "An International Protectorate of the Congo River" (1883); "The Congo Treaty: Surrender of the British Government to Portugal," etc. (Spottiswoode, 1884); "Africa No. 2 (1884): Correspondence Relating

The perseverance of Portugal was by-and-by rewarded by a species of *succès d'estime* in the shape of two patches north and south of the Congo mouth; but these were obtained by dint of bargains with France on one side and the Congo State on the opposite bank.

However, before the Berlin Conference had time to meet, the leading spirit in that conclave

suddenly gave it a great deal more to think about than the limitation of Portuguese territory around the Congo mouth. Hitherto, Ger-

Some peculiar proceedings of Germany.

many had not seriously entered the field as a colonising Power, and, indeed, unless Africa attracted the young Empire founded at Versailles, she had come upon the scene too late to find any territory suitable for her purpose. Colonisation societies formed as early as 1849 had cast longing looks on Brazil, Texas, the Mosquito Shore, Morocco, Chili, and other parts of the world in which the colonists could, of course, only become foreign settlers, since all of these countries were already "effectively occupied" by Powers more or less civilised. Hence, the revival of the colonisation *furor* in 1882 scarcely ruffled the surface of English placidity, as the search for regions in which to try the experiment landed the Teutons in such pestilent spots as the Papuan Islands and similar unpromising quarters.

It is true that the German explorers (Vol. III., pp. 294-303) acted in a way not much in keeping with the philanthropic schemes they were supposed to be advancing; while the energy of the German traders in West

to Negotiations between the Governments of Great Britain and Portugal for Conclusion of the Congo Treaty, 1882-84" (Blue-Book); Stanley: "The Congo: Its Past History, Development, and Future Commercial Prospects" (Suppl. to the *London Chamber of Commerce Journal*, Sept. 19, 1884); and "The Congo and the Founding of the Free State," 2 vols. (1885), for the negotiations described and subsequent events; Cordeiro: "Portugal and the Congo" (1883); "A Short Reply to the Portuguese Pamphlet—Portugal and the Congo" (1883); Santarem: "A Statement of Facts, etc., with a Despatch and Memorandum by His Excellency João de Andrade Corvo" (1887); "Memorandum concerning the Portuguese Rights and Pretensions," etc. (1883); Goldsmid, *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, April, 1884, etc. etc.

Africa and Zanzibar, if it did not give rise to any anxiety on the part of the Foreign Office, was certainly fierce enough to trouble the British merchants who had hitherto had all but a monopoly of the business in these regions, and who—had those whose duty it was to watch the rising trade been capable of understanding the import of the news which was brought them by every mail—might have possessed it still. German enterprise was, however, pooh-poohed, and, indeed, so prejudiced were the black folk against Hanoverian cutlery and Silesian muskets—and even against Hamburg gin—that the conscientious gentlemen who now entered upon the scene found it necessary to forge the English and French brands before they could get any sale for their low-priced wares.

In spite of all this, Whitehall dismissed the notion of German competition as a mere bugbear. There was still a traditional idea that the Teutons were an impracticable race, devoted to abstract research on the dative case and the evolution of camels from the depth of their inner consciousness; while the idea of such a people searching for colonies was met by a quotation from some obsolete *obiter dictum* of Prince Bismarck regarding the folly of Germany indulging in any such extravagance.

The smug bureaucrats forgot, however, that there was a force behind the Chancellor even more powerful than he. It was this *vis-à-tergo*, in the shape of the German traders at home and abroad and the German people, who imagined that the secret of England's wealth lay in her dependencies, which eventually compelled the most influential man in the Empire to lead the new movement rather than choose to be left in the rear.

The first unmistakable intimation of the altered condition of affairs came from that portion of South-West Africa long known as Damara and Namaqua Lands. Those who have followed

Damaraland and Namaqualand.

the explorers, traders, and hunters through these regions (Vol. III., p. 186) will remember them simply as arid country, inhabited by various Hottentot and allied tribes, who, in

spite of the labours of many devoted missionaries, were by no means the most placable of the race. Most of these missionaries were

land in which they laboured. For they were traders in addition, and latterly, it has been suspected, political agents over and above



MAP SHOWING THE PARTITION OF AFRICA. (By E. G. Ravenstein.)
1895.

Germans connected with the Rhenish Society (Vol. III., p. 135). But, though more than usually successful in their spiritual functions, they had an eye also to the secular side of the

everything else. Their position was—as the position of every missionary must necessarily be—more or less perilous, and as merchants their property and commercial interests were

often in danger from the native wars in 1867 and subsequent years. Appealing to the Prussian Government for protection, the British Government, within whose Sphere of Influence—to use a phrase which did not come into use for some years later—this portion of South Africa was understood to be, intimated that, while declining a proposed joint demonstration of English and German warships, they

But, if Britain was idle, Germany was not. The Rhineland missionaries extended their secular arm until they had become owners of the ground and buildings occupied by a defunct copper-mining company at Otyimbingwe, on the Swakop River, at a short distance from Walfisch Bay (Vol. III., p. 186), the only passable harbour along the whole extent of coast; and a missionary society, avowedly for trading



ARRIVAL AT THE CAMEROONS OF CANOES WITH
PALM-OIL FROM THE MUNGO RIVER.

(From a Photograph by F. Augerer, published by Sophus Williams, Berlin.)

would extend to German subjects the same protection afforded to their own. As a matter of fact, there were few British subjects in the country, and Britain, though not dreaming of South Africa obtaining any other masters than those already in possession of the greater part of it, did not feel inclined to move further in the matter. There were some copper and silver mines in the country, but they did not pay, and beyond a few hunters and traders (Vol. III., p. 306), who were very well able to take care of themselves there was nobody over whom the Cape Colony could or cared to exercise its authority.

purposes, was actually formed at Barmen. In vain the late Sir Bartle Frere, at that time Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa, counselled a more formal annexation of this region, which he saw was in imminent danger of falling into German hands. The less acute Cape Town dignitaries did not entertain any such fears, and though they announced that Walfisch Bay, through which the Germans obtained their supplies, was in future to be British, they could not appreciate the pothor which was created over one section of a vast area which England either already ruled or could,

as in the past, absorb or recede at her own good will.

Nevertheless, the clamour of the German missionaries for the protection of themselves, their ever-growing interests, and five thousand converts continued, until Lord

ruling them. Still, in spite of this deliberate dictum, the customary remonstrance touching a lack of protection was made by the trader-missionaries, and was duly forwarded to London by the Berlin Foreign Office. Seemingly Prince Bismarck was determined not

to move before he was sure that Great Britain had not the shadow of an excuse for objecting. And all the time, apparently quite unaware of the vast change which had taken place in German policy and public feeling since the King of Prussia had become German Emperor, Downing Street continued to play into his



Granville, tired of Prince Bismarck's more and more pertinacious despatches, repudiated all responsibility outside the district around Walfisch Bay, and on the 30th of December, 1880, intimated that in future the Orange River was to be regarded as the north-western boundary of Cape Colony.

Furthermore, no encouragement would be given to the extension of British jurisdiction in Damara and Namaqua Lands outside the area mentioned, and even for these Great Britain declined responsibility unless the Cape Government chose to pay the expense of



TRADERS' HULKS AND FACTORIES ON THE CAMEROONS COAST.

(From Photographs by F. Augerer, published by Sophus Williams, Berlin.)

hands with a simplicity which was almost touching in its ineptitude.

The next move was to put forward a Bremen merchant, Herr Lüderitz, to establish a large factory at Angra Pequena Bay, between the avowed boundary of the Cape Colony and

Walfisch Bay, which Lord Granville had just declared the only part of Great Namaqualand for which Great Britain was responsible. This notable event took place on the 12th of April, 1883. Without any loss of time the missionaries at Bethany were communicated with, and a concession of 240 square miles was secured from Josef Frederick, the native chief. And this being done, the German flag was hoisted on the new addition to the Empire.

Touching
Kauffmann
Lüderitz, and
his Imperial
principals.

Now for the first time the country and the colony chiefly concerned woke up to the real state of affairs, and the meaning of the correspondence which had been accumulating in the Foreign Offices of London and Berlin for five-and-twenty years. At last, the Cape Town politicians began to appreciate Sir Bartle's foresight, and to appraise the country which they had valued so scoffingly at, perhaps, an exaggerated price. As for the British people, most of whom heard of Angra Pequena for the first time, no name was too bad for the "German filibuster" who had learned his lesson too well in the school of British colonial history. His action, it was declared, and evidently believed, would be disallowed by Prince Bismarck; for, of course, no Bremen "adventurer" could be permitted to raise the German flag on a part of the coast which, in spite of repeated intimations to the contrary, Britain still insisted on considering as British territory. But Prince Bismarck did no such thing. He had no intention of undoing what he had accomplished so skilfully, and on a British warship arriving at Angra Pequena, her captain was politely but firmly informed by a German one already there that he was within waters over which his flag did not fly.

The diplomatic correspondence that followed is not pleasant reading. Britain claimed the coast; yet, when asked to produce proofs of annexation, the only document which could be offered was her Minister's letter repudiating any authority over it. She even went as far as to agree to grant the "German filibuster" the protection she had refused the German missionaries, apparently still under

the impression that Herr Lüderitz was simply a private trader. But before the Cape Government deigned to vouchsafe a reply to the Imperial Government's proposals to that effect, the German Consul at Cape Town was instructed to inform whom it might concern that Angra Pequena was under the protection of the Empire. In short, after a great deal of wordy discussion, Lord Derby did what perhaps was the only thing to be done, unless at a cost for which all Africa was too dear a price—he recognised on the 21st of June, 1884, the German Protectorate.

By this time, however, the German Chancellor had gauged British apathy or British belief in bluster. At all events, he henceforth regarded remonstrances as mere evasions, and now that he imagined he had sounded the party-politician's indifference to what Germany valued so highly, and the partisan statesman's ignorance of Africa, Prince Bismarck treated the freshening susceptibilities of England with even more than his customary brusqueness. Possibly, also, he had lost his traditional belief in the fathomless depth of the insular Macchiavellis.

A scramble
for land.

Certainly the timidity with which every step in the Angra Pequena business had been taken did not prepare us for the news which came in rapid succession from West Africa. For, almost before Europe could quite grasp the import, Germany had annexed the entire country north of the Orange River and south of Angola, with the exception of Walfisch Bay. Even the coast islands, on which British sealers and guano-diggers had actually been at work, were not excluded, though it may be added that these were at a later date permitted to remain with the Power who owned them before Germany was more than a geographical expression.

The 250,000 square miles thus acquired in Damara and Namaqua Lands did not, it is true, add much to the strength or the wealth of the Empire; for most of it is desert, while the little of value which it contains has since that date required the experienced enterprise

of British capitalists to exploit it. But in those days the annexation of a territory larger than France before dismemberment was considered a great thing among those Germans who had a difficulty in grasping the maxim that the only value of land is what can be made out of it. This "spirited foreign policy" of filching strips of the African shore added, indeed, so highly to the prestige of the Chancellor, now much on the wane since the close of the French war, that he determined to continue a course so popular and apparently fraught with so little peril.

Now Dr. Nachtigal, whom we left (Vol. III., p. 259) as Consul-General at Tunis, suddenly appeared on the scene in the *Möwe*. Swiftly moving up the coast, armed with special powers as Imperial Commissioner, the famous African traveller annexed, one after another, every spot on the chart not marked as actually within the territory of any European nation, making, at the same time, treaties with the chiefs, and then, presenting each of them with a flag and a salute, passed on to perform the same farce elsewhere.

It would have been idle to tell this somewhat truculent type of official that the black kings had only the faintest notion of what all this meant, that they had already "signed" (with a cross) prior compacts with the resident traders of other nationalities which were in deliberate contradiction of those exacted by Dr. Nachtigal, or that "King" Bell, or "King" Acqua, "Prince" Dido, or "Prince" Joe did not regard the German flag as more sacred than any other piece of particoloured clout. That was no business of the Imperial Commissioner, who, after he, Herr Lüderitz, and a joint commission had formed more treaties with the Hottentot chiefs, and settled a number of conflicting claims, sailed on his annexation cruise. Within the last few years the stations of German traders had begun to dot all the Guinea Coast and consuls been appointed to look after their interests. Some of these strips of tropical shore had been in the possession of various nations in former days; but, in spite of numerous petitions to

annex them to the British colonies, they had been long abandoned to the native chiefs, and, except as the site of factories, were in 1884 unoccupied by any Power recognised in the Gotha Almanac. It was upon these that Dr. Nachtigal and his master had cast covetous eyes, though, on the latter acquainting the English Foreign Office with the fact of Nachtigal's departure in the *Möwe*, and asking for the good offices of British West African officials on his behalf, the Imperial Commissioner was merely described as sent "in order to complete the information now in the possession of the Foreign Office in Berlin on the state of German commerce on that coast." A callous mendacity on one side and a crass stupidity on the other seem to those who now review its history the salient characteristics of that notable epoch in the story of Europe's dealings with Africa. Even a violent tirade against England's colonial policy in one of Prince Bismarck's recognised organs did not suggest anything wrong to the statesmen still smarting from the *Angra Pequena* proceedings. They did not even wake up to the necessity of alacrity when it was heard that Dr. Nachtigal was, on the 1st of June, 1884, holding palavers with the chiefs of the Dubreka River, where several German factories had sprung up. Some time later the German flag was actually hoisted over this spot; but, on France showing her teeth in a manner which even the victors of Sedan could not misunderstand, it was hauled down, with many apologies for intruding on any territory to which that nation had "the slightest claim or even preference. Bismarck's delicacy towards French susceptibilities was in all these doings and negotiations in marked contrast to his bluff and uncompromising treatment of the British Government."*

Just, however, to the east of the Gold Coast colony there was a patch of No-Man's-Land (except the "mere natives'") where
Togoland
German factories were established and the chiefs taught, after the German fashion, by means of a gunboat, that they

* Keltie: *Lib. Cit.*, p. 200.

must be very humble to the new-comers who had settled there without invitation. This was duly declared a German Protectorate, and the German flag raised at Bagida, the squalid village of M'lapa, King of Togoland, and at a variety of contiguous spots, which, however, being afterwards claimed by France,



KING BELL OF THE CAMEROONS.

(From a Photograph by Augerer, published by Williams, Berlin.)

were most politely and most promptly ceded to the French.

A salute being fired, a uniformed official appointed, and a flag presented to the dazed king, who regarded the gifts he received as merely a handsome "shake-hand dash," the *Möwe* next anchored before the Cameroons, where the resident German traders had already arranged matters by the usual arguments

of trade-muskets, brass-buttoned coats, and fiery gin. It is true that there was a Baptist Mission Station (Victoria) here, and that, at the very moment

that Dr. Nachtigal was arranging with "King Bell" and his chiefs, the same individuals were waiting for an answer to a petition they had despatched a few weeks before, begging for their country to have "a British Government," so as to stop the "plenty wars" and "plenty murders" among the "plenty idol-worshippers." In vain the captain of an English man-of-war "in the Rivers" begged the chiefs to sign nothing until the British Consul arrived. But rum was plentiful, and the chiefs were thirsty, so that when Consul Hewett came, it was only to learn that the German flag had waved for nearly a week over a settlement which but for the dilatoriness of the Foreign Office, that had already cost us so much, might have been Britain's. All that could now be done was to declare the Baptist Mission Station (which Germany afterwards bought out) British, and for the active Consul to make the best of a bad business by steaming up the coast, and taking measures to secure the Oil Rivers and the Niger mouths for his country.* Meanwhile, Nachtigal continued his flag-hoisting and treaty-making until his death off Cape Palmas in April, 1885; but France exhibiting a decided "preference" for the fresh annexations, Germany again backed out and admitted the Rio Campo as the southern limit of her acquisitions in that direction.

About the same date, Herr Lüderitz, finding John Bull so easy a personage to deal with, proceeded, through his agent, Herr Einwold, to annex Santa Lucia Bay, on the east coast. But, though he obtained some concessions from Dinizulu, and held certain peculiar relations with the Transvaal Boers, who, in those days, were talking a great deal of nonsense, which was not fully understood till long afterwards, about a German Protectorate, the Colonial Government compelled Downing Street for once to put down its official foot after the French fashion. A treaty with M'Panda, dated from 1843, was discovered, and the British flag duly hoisted in virtue of

* "Africa No. 1 (1885): Correspondence Respecting Affairs in the Cameroons" (Blue-Book).



"KINGS" CANOE ON THE BRASS RIVER.
(From a Photograph by F. Augerer, published by Sophus Williams, Berlin.)

this document. Then, Britain refusing to give way, the Germans withdrew, their Government at the same time promising that it would make no annexation in East Africa south of Delagoa Bay.

Europe was now in a state of mild excitement, and England was divided between anathematising her Ministers who had permitted Prince Bismarck to hoodwink them and abusing that astute diplomatist, who, in spite of his maxim of truth-telling being the safest course in statecraft, had avowedly for once departed from the straight course. But recriminations were useless. For not only had Germany, by the autumn of 1884, acquired her West African territory, and was busily occupied in settling her boundaries with England, Portugal, and France, but she was plotting to acquire a large area of East Africa, while Italy was getting uneasy at being left out in the scramble which had begun so merrily. On the Niger and the Slave Coast also France was at work, Spain looking around to see what she might snatch, and Portugal getting uncomfortable over what was to be the outcome of the negotiations regarding the Congo, the Zambesi, and the Nyassa country. Then the Berlin Conference met on the 15th of November, 1884, and rose on the 30th of January, 1885. It had sat for ten weeks, like a little Congress of

The Berlin Conference.

Vienna, at which, now that Africa had been almost finally dismembered, there were present nearly every one, except the Africans whose territories were in peril.*

The "General Act" of the Conference enacted the free navigation of the Congo and its tributaries and of the Zambesi within certain limits, and freedom of trade in the latter region, so far as the States having jurisdiction agreed—a saving clause that was destined to give future trouble. The duties levied were only to be in the interest of trade,

* "Congo Conference: Report of the Secretary of State and Correspondence in Relation to the Affairs of the Independent Congo State" (Washington, 1886); Faure: "La Conférence Africaine de Berlin" (1885), and the different European Blue-Books and Official Reports on the Conference.

though the question might be considered after twenty years. As far as the Congo was concerned, its basin was to be neutral, fixed navigation dues were to be charged and revised at the end of five years, and a mixed Commission was appointed to carry out the regulations of the Conference. The Niger was put under much the same provisions, though this river and its tributaries were placed outside the free-trade zone, and the carrying out of the stipulations was entrusted to France and Great Britain, so far as the river passed through territories in their possession or under their protection. Finally, so long as the Niger was free to the ships of any nation, without exclusive privilege to any, Great Britain, who was, without dispute, recognised as the mistress—or "Protector"—of the lower and principal part of the river, could make any laws she chose regarding the navigation, so long as these rules were not contrary to the spirit of the "General Act."

But two other declarations of the Conference were even more epoch-making. The one was that, before any Power could claim any portion of Africa, its occupation of this tract must be "effective," and must have been notified to the Signatory Powers, in case any of them might have objections to make, either on the basis of prior occupation or other claim. The "hinterland," or back country, was also recognised as "within the sphere of influence of the country owning or protecting the region nearer the coast," and for the first time these "spheres of influence" were roughly indicated. Thesecond declaration was the creation of the Congo State; indeed, from the beginning of the Conference, it was felt that

The Congo Free State.

this question was the main one that was before the gathering. Under the Comité des Études, which speedily grew into the Association Internationale du Congo, it had developed into an irregularly organised State, of which, as early as April, 1884, Colonel Sir Francis de Winton—on General Gordon declining the post—was Governor. It now emerged from the Conference

as "L'État Indépendant du Congo," under the personal sovereignty of the King of the Belgians. "Create" is, therefore, perhaps not quite the correct term to apply to the recognition of what was already in existence under another name, though with powers less defined and more apt to be disputed. Be that as it may—and the point is likely to always remain a moot one in International law—the Berlin Conference made no pretence of settling the boundaries either of the Congo State or of the other territories in the ownership or protectorate of which it confirmed certain Powers. It simply guaranteed the neutrality of the conventional "free zone," which included French and Portuguese possessions as well as those of the Free State. The Berlin Conference and the Berlin Act, carefully avoiding all territorial questions, left the frontiers of the

Congo country to be settled by bilateral agreements between the lords of the contiguous regions.* Yet it is quite possible that had not General Strauch, the King's equerry and *alter ego*, promised that, if the State should ever be parted with by its then owners, France should have the right of preempting or purchasing the territories,

the latest creation of European philanthropy would have been left to a later period. This was, nevertheless, an unfortunate promise, out of which the king in vain tried to explain himself. It caused much trouble before many years elapsed, and is destined to cause

still more in contingencies by no means impossible.

However, the stipulation soothed the irritability of France at the Anglo-Portuguese treaty—out of which it originated—and enabled the Conference to round off its proceedings amicably. It had settled the broad basis on which the partition of Africa was in future to proceed. In brief, it laid down the rules of the game, and, having bound themselves to "play fair," the members went home determined to resume their political pastime fortified by the knowledge that they had the countenance of Europe and the approval of Exeter Hall—which

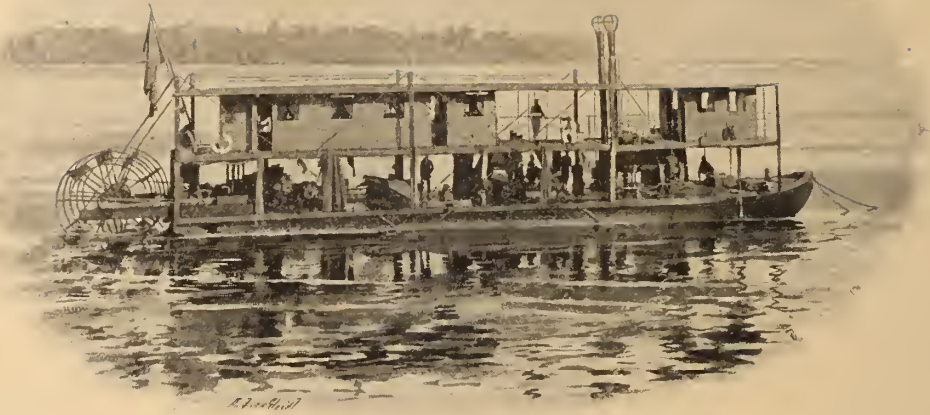
in these matters might count for something.*

* In addition to the books and papers already quoted (particularly Mr. Keltie's oft-cited volume), the following documents may be referred to on the subject of this chapter:—Sievers: "Afrika" (1891); Henriques: "Les Colonies françaises." Vol. VI. ("Gabon et Congo français"); Jung: "Deutsche Kolonien" (1885); Koschitzky: "Deutsche Colonialgeschichte" (1887); Banning: "Le Partage politique de l'Afrique d'après les transactions internationales le plus récentes" (1885-88); Frenzel: "Deutschlands Kolonien" (1889); Gürich: "Deutsch Südwest-Afrika" (*Mitt. Geogr. Gesellsch. Hamburg*, 1891-92); Schinz: "Deutsch Südwest-Afrika" (1891), etc.



CHIEF SAMSON DIDO OF DIDOTOWN, CAMEROONS.
(From a Photograph by Augerer, published by Williams, Berlin.)

* Sir George Goldie discusses this question in a very able paper in the *Chamber of Commerce Journal* (London), June, 1894.



GOVERNMENT STERN-WHEEL STEAMER "VILLE DE BRUXELLES," CONGO RIVER.
(From a Photograph by the Rev. R. D. Darby.)

CHAPTER XI.

THE CONGO STATE AND THE NIGER TERRITORIES : AFRICA UNDER COMPANIES.

The Scramble Systematised—"Land-Grabbing" on a Large Scale—Result—The Congo Free State—Diplomatic Instruments by which it Exists—Disappointments—Finances—Products—Little Value to Belgium—Progress—Causes of Partial Failure—Explorations—Obstacles in the Way of the Independent State Officials—Ignorance and Incompetence—The Future of the State—Trouble with Arabs—Difficulties with the Private Traders—The Niger Territories—The Niger River after the Buxton Expedition—Dr. Baikie's Attempt to Develop its Trade—Activity of the French—British Traders in the Delta, and French Ones on the River Proper—The Ruinous Result of Rivalry—Sir George Taubman Goldie's Amalgamation of the British Firms—The United African Company—Renewed French Rivalry—Absorption of French Companies by the British One—The National African Company—The British then the Only Traders on the Lower Niger—The Berlin Agreement—The Royal Niger Company Chartered—Its Organisation—Treaty-making—Flegel's Attempts in the German Interest—Joseph Thomson's Embassy to Sokoto and Gando—The Company's Sphere of Influence—Herr Hönigsberg's Attempts—The Company's Operations and Trade—Its Dual Function—Its Civilising Influence—The Niger Coast Protectorate—Consul Hewett's Treaties—The Protectorate's Influence in the Delta—Its Relations with the Traders—Its Future, etc.

THE early chapters of this volume have been entirely occupied with the struggles of the different European Powers to seize and occupy the coast-line of Africa, though, at a still more remote period, the so-called aboriginal races and, after them, the Arabs, had been struggling for a share of the Black Continent. Accordingly, a scramble for Africa was nothing new in its history. However, what followed after, and even during, the Berlin Conference perhaps most fully deserves that title; for, though done strictly according to the rules of

the game as laid down at Berlin, it was a scramble, nevertheless, and for years subsequently was distinguished by many of the least dignified features of "land-grabbing" on a large scale. France "protected" Madagascar and the Comoro Islands. Great Britain laid hold of the northern Somali coast, negotiated a lease of the northern part of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, and annexed Socotra Island, though, since 1875, it had been within her sphere of influence.

"Land-grabbing" in a large way.

Germany, under similar arrangements to those made by Britain, took over the southern part of the Zanzibar territory; while, as a compensation, Zanzibar Island and its immediate dependencies on the mainland became a British protectorate. Spain annexed much of the Western Sahara (p. 80), and Italy, when the Egyptian hold on the Soudan was relinquished, possessed herself of the Red Sea

the Soudan evacuated by Egypt was claimed to be within her sphere of influence, and Unyoro and the neighbouring kingdoms became, to all intents and purposes, her suffragan states. For long afterwards the nations concerned were busy in delimiting their respective territories and drawing up treaties in accordance. But after France had agreed to the limits of her sphere of influence in the



CONGO WORKMEN IMPORTED FROM THE GOLD COAST.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. R. D. Darby.)

coast at the foot of the Abyssinian mountains, and eventually extended—only to withdraw it, however—her protectorate over Abyssinia, and, under rules laid down in the treaty with Britain in 1894, Somaliland short of Harar, where, nevertheless, her influence must always be powerful.

Britain, with rapid strides, annexed native territory until, with the exception of the German and Portuguese sections and the two Boer republics, nearly all of South Africa was hers from the Cape to far beyond the Zambesi and thence to Tanganyika and Uganda. All

Lake Tchad region, Germany on the Benué and in South Central Africa, Italy in Somaliland, Portugal in Nyassaland and on the Congo, and the Congo State so far as her eastern boundaries were concerned, the heat of the scramble was over. The minor details were mainly for surveyors and delimitation commissions, the Anglo-Congo and Anglo-Italian difficulties with France and Germany in 1894 being the last remnants of the fierce struggle which began in 1884. For by that time nearly all of Africa had been partitioned off—either by being directly annexed, or protected, or

recognised as within the sphere of influence of some European country—the few independent states, though permitted to remain as such, being left until it suited the nation without whose “sphere” they lay to swallow them up.

The scramble over, the participants sat down to count their gains. Of the 11,500,000 square miles of continental Africa, 2,300,000 square miles of the Sahara are not coveted by any European Power, though France regards herself as possessing a claim on all between Algeria and Senegal, and Spain a huge tract behind the Rio de Oro. But over 8,000,000 are, more or less directly, attached to some European Power. Of this area France has 2,750,000 square miles, with a population of 24,000,000. Britain comes next with 1,828,000 square miles and 35,000,000 people. Germany asserts her power over 822,000 square miles, with an estimated population of 6,000,000; Italy over 603,000 square miles and 6,300,000 subjects; Spain over 213,770 square miles and 437,000 people; and the Congo State over 900,000 square miles and 14,000,000 people, though both of these estimates—and they are only estimates—must be largely increased by the country which she has been permitted to occupy from her eastern limits to the Nile.

Nor did Portugal lose in the struggle; for, while in 1876 the king claimed to be lord of 612,217 square miles, in 1890, when her boundaries were fully adjusted, this area of half-occupied territory had been increased to 841,000 square miles, what she lost in the Congo country and in East Africa being compensated by the annexation of about 17,000 miles opposite the Bissagos Islands. She tried to absorb Whydah, by which jurisdiction was to be exercised over Dahomey, but thought better of it. Her persistence was, however, rewarded by her obtaining after the Berlin Conference a slice of 1,800 square miles between the French sphere and the mouth of the Congo. She was also confirmed in possession of the coast between Ambriz and the southern bank of the river, her boundary

extending along its bank to Noki, 130 miles from the mouth: so that, though she did not succeed so well as she had attempted in 1883, Portugal did very fairly in the scramble.

The new State was last of all recognised by the Belgian Legislature authorising King Leopold to be its sovereign, only stipulating that the union between Belgium and it should be exclusively a personal one. But from the very first it was well understood that this was a mere form of words. For every year has tightened this personal union, until at the present moment it is virtually a colony of Belgium, with the nominal capital at Boma, though the real one is at Brussels. The funds by which it has been founded were supplied out of the King's privy purse. He had laid aside a considerable fortune for his only son, and on his death resolved to devote a portion of this to the scheme with which his name will always be connected. In 1889, the King bequeathed to Belgium by will his sovereign rights in the State. A year later the territories of the State were declared inalienable, and by a convention “between Belgium and the Independent State”—in other words, between Belgium under two different names—the former reserved to itself the right of annexing the latter after a period of ten years. Meanwhile, in addition to a considerable subsidy from the King, the Belgian Government agreed to grant £80,000 per annum from 1890 to 1900, the date at which it contemplated the possibility of taking over the State.

This treaty was formed without the shadow of the bargain between France and the Congo State falling on the high consenting parties (p. 175). Perhaps, Belgium had never apprehended the possibility of parting with her latest pet—her only possession beyond the seas—or thought that the mere fact of France claiming in that case the right of preempting it concerned not her, but the other Powers who were parties to the Berlin Conference. This claim has, however, never been formally

The balance-sheet.

The Congo Free State.

submitted to or recognised by the Signatory Powers, and exists solely in the form of an agreement of the 23rd April, 1884, published in a French Yellow-Book of that year;* so that in reality, as the Congo State was virtually the creation of the Powers signing the Berlin agreement, such an agreement, made while the State was still the International Association, is null and void. The bearing of this contention became evident in 1894, when Germany objected to the treaty between Great Britain and the Congo State, by virtue of which the latter extended her jurisdiction to the Nile.

However, it is by no means certain that Belgium will not tire of the Congo. Already this vast area has been a huge disappointment to the mother country. Its resources and population have not proved in any way equal to the expectations based on Mr. Stanley's florid accounts (Vol. II., pp. 311, 312): and, so far from the people being consumed by a passion for honest toil, labourers had to be imported from Dahomey and the Gold Coast (p. 177) to work on the railway that was being constructed around the falls which render the river unnavigable between Vivi and Leopoldville on Stanley Pool. In 1890 the State was permitted to levy custom dues, nominally for the purpose of repressing the Arab slave-trade on the upper river, in reality with the object of increasing the State revenue. The result was widespread dissatisfaction. Already anything in the shape of free trade had almost ceased to exist. For the private

traders are at great disadvantage compared with the officials of the Government, all of whom engage in traffic with the natives either for their own profit or on behalf of the State. Various monopolies are claimed by "L'Etat," so that even Belgian companies complain that on such terms, and with a departure so flagrant from the spirit of the Berlin Conference, it is impossible to do business.

The financial condition of the State is also far from satisfactory. In 1892 the profit and loss accounts were fairly balanced, though among the receipts **Finances.** figure the £80,000 that the Belgian Government annually grants to the Congo State, as well as the £12,000 that came out of King Leopold's own pocket. In 1893 the outlay far exceeded the income, owing, it is claimed, to the warlike operations waged against the Arabs between the Congo and Lake Tanganyika. For 1894 the expenditure was calculated at £270,000, while the utmost revenue which could be reckoned on, excluding the Belgian £80,000 and the King's gift—this year estimated at £40,000—cannot bring the income up to £100,000: the present deficit is, therefore, £170,000. It may be remarked, that while in 1892 the forces necessary for the defence of a State devised in philanthropy cost £40,000, in 1894 its warlike operations absorbed £150,000.

The commercial aspects of the State are not much more promising. In 1893 the value of the exports amounted to nearly £300,000, of which £148,720 were represented by ivory, £37,480 by india-rubber, £35,840 by palm-kernels (copra), and £24,560 by palm-oil, besides the usual tale of orchilla weed, ground-nuts, cassia-wood, and some £12,500 worth of coffee, which at present seems about the only crop which it pays to put into the soil of the Congo Valley.

Of these exports the greater part is credited to Belgium. She alone figures for £200,000: Holland comes next with £50,000, and Germany with £40,000. **Products.** Holland, however, has still—as in the days that preceded Stanley's explorations—almost a

* On May 31st of that year M. Jules Ferry acquainted the Powers with this agreement, which was the French "reply" to the cancelled Treaty of London, made in February, 1884, between England and Portugal (p. 164). It was mentioned at the Berlin Conference, and on February 5th, 1885—the day on which the Congo State was recognised by France—General Strauch's promise, made on behalf of the Congo Association, was again the subject of conversation between its representatives and France. But the Powers never admitted the international legality of the agreement or the validity of any treaty made by an Association, not then admitted as a Sovereign State, which was not homologated by the Powers which sanctioned the *État Indépendant*.

monopoly of the imports, figuring in 1893 for nearly £130,000, while England is represented by only £21,400, and Germany by less than £6,000, the greater part of which consists of Hamburg gin, a commodity against which there is no self-denying clause in the constitution of this philanthropic State. Indeed, as the natives managed to get drunk on a native intoxicant (Vol. III., p. 125) long before they heard of a white man, it might be idle to prevent them from obtaining an article the principal merit of which is that a moderate amount produces the required exhilaration, followed by sopor that prevents any

host of officials, troops, and others in the pay of the State or employed on the railway of 250 miles. Of this twenty-five miles have already been completed by a Belgian company, in which, however, a great deal of English capital is sunk. It will certainly give an artificial stimulus to Belgian industries, though, as most of the money that pays for it comes out of the pockets of the Belgians, the exact profit to Belgium is problematical. The



TRADING-CANOES AT LUKOLELA BEACH, CONGO.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. A. Billington.)

further imbibition, more speedily than the less concentrated palm-wine and maize-beer. Germany also supplies some of the cannon, and Belgium the cartridges and rifles; but, as the State is bound by international agreement not to furnish the latter luxuries to its subjects, these imports must be for its own use, and, we are afraid, do not add greatly to the present prosperity of the country.

In reality, the Belgians themselves are the principal consumers of Belgian exports to the Congo. Their wares are for the use of the

articles of import—alcohol excluded—which are actually bought by the inhabitants of the Congo State are tinware, valued at £10,500, and cotton stuffs, worth £84,000; but the report is silent as to the share which Belgium has in these transactions.*

Still, it would be unfair to the Congo State to judge it solely by commercial results. These may come by-and-by, though **Progress.** for the present it is difficult to see how it will pay to bring any of the ordinary

* *The Times* (London), May 28th, 1894.

tropical crops from the centre of Africa when they cannot be remuneratively grown in the West Indies or along the banks of the great waterways of South America. For ivory is not to be regarded as a product which can

and these percentages must be added to the price at which Congo coffee and gum-copal, its kola-nuts and its cocoa, its tobacco and cotton, its indigo, sugar, vanilla, nutmegs, and india-rubber—until the wild supply gives



IKENGO VILLAGE, CONGO.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. A. Billington.)

be calculated upon for the future, and the oil-palm is a tree not found far beyond the influence of the sea-breezes. The railway will doubtless tap the upper river, where the climate is more suitable for Europeans than the lower valley. But the shareholders in this costly work will look for dividends in something more concrete than the blessings of a black man;

out—can be offered in the competitive markets of Antwerp and London.

Nor, we are afraid, do either the British or the Dutch tropical colonies hold out much encouragement to the Congo State. For the crops which the first grow with profit could not, owing to the position of the State, be cultivated, except at a loss to the planter;

since the vicinity of the United States enables Jamaica and the Bahamas to find a ready market for their bananas and pine-apples; while it is perfectly certain that the European Powers who created the Congo State would never permit their *protégé* to inaugurate the "system" by which the Dutch East Indies are made to pay at the expense of the natives. Nevertheless, the sovereign of the Congo has made a noble effort after success. From the mouth of the river to Stanley Falls, far in the interior of Africa (Vol. III., p. 31), posts have been established as pioneers and centres of civilisation, and up the great tributaries of the Congo, the very names of which were unknown less than twenty years ago, the State has stationed its officers, until the entire country has been divided into twelve administrative districts or provinces. A flotilla of steamers, row-boats, and sailing vessels dot the vast flood, the very course of which was barely suspected before 1876: and the peace is kept—and sometimes broken—by a force of between three and four thousand native Africans, divided into eight companies, under eighty European officers, who drill these troops in four camps of instruction. A post-office service so regular has been established that the Congo State, as a member of the Postal Union, handles an amount of correspondence of such bulk, in proportion to the presumed readers in this African valley, that we may infer that the Europeans lighten their exile by a prodigious amount of letters to and from their friends in regions more civilised. Besides the missionaries (Vol. III., pp. 118–126) and the officials, the private individuals engaged in business are not numerous, and of the entire number of Europeans in the State (less than 1,000) about half are Belgians.

The energy of the State officials has been mainly expended in exploration. In the course of ten years almost every tributary of

Explorations. the river has been traced for some distance, and the last possible doubt of the Welle being a tributary of the Congo, through the Mobangi or Oubangi,

dissipated by actual observation (Vol. III., p. 126). Nearly 6,000 miles of waterway have been navigated, and the country and people on the banks of the rivers described for the first time. It is impossible to do more than mention these results.* Some of this work has been accomplished by the missionaries, and the principal explorations by others have already been incidentally noted. Yet not many years ago such geographical achievements would have obtained more celebrity than they could now receive amid the plethora of feats more important, or more sensational, or done less in the way of ordinary routine duty.

Unfortunately, the unwisdom which distinguished the early ventures of the Belgians in East Africa followed them into the Congo. Entirely inexperienced, **Obstacles.** lacking the traditions in dealing with savage races that have, in different ways, been the secret of the British and French success as the expanders of empire, and only too ready to ape bad models, the majority of the Congo officials have proved sadly unfitted as pioneers of civilisation. Eager to find any outlet for energy cramped within the bounds of Belgium, hosts of young officers readily volunteered for the Congo, with a mental reservation that, instead of spending their lives in forwarding the "fads" of the king, they should qualify for orders and promotion by winning popular applause as explorers or as soldiers in warfare—of all follies the one which should have been most sedulously avoided. At first the officials were of many nationalities, and of all degrees of incompetence; not many, and these mostly English, were of notable ability. After the Congo State became a Belgian institution, its officers were selected entirely from the subjects of its sovereign, and, it has already been indicated, were not always improvements on their predecessors. Some of them became apathetic under the influence of a tropical climate, and in their daily walk and conversation set but

* Ravenstein, "Recent Explorations in the S.E. Congo Basin" (*Geographical Journal*, March, 1893), etc.

an indifferent example to the savages around them.*

On the Lower Congo the officials are more under the control of public opinion than on the upper river, and are, moreover, when charged with judicial functions, in most cases trained for the duties which they have to perform. But in a region where the natives are more savage, and infinitely more difficult to deal with, martial law is entrusted to young officials, poorly paid, often of slender ability, not always of the best character, and invariably beyond the checks afforded by the presence of those whose example and authority might restrain the exercise of petty despotism. The result has been many abuses. The natives have been treated as if they were slaves, and otherwise irritated in a manner little calculated to endear the white man and the white man's ways. Nor have the Arabs, who soon found their way into the State, been met with that *suaviter in modo* and *fortiter in re* so necessary in dealing with these half-civilised man-hunters. Consequently, collisions which, with a little tact, might have been avoided until a force fit to cope on more than equal terms with them was on hand, occurred, to the serious loss of the State at Stanley Falls and elsewhere. For they led to the premature outbreak of a war—necessary, we admit, but uncalled-for to the extent it assumed—in the region where it has since been waged. But the anti-slavery war, authorised by the Anti-Slavery Conference in Brussels in 1890, was soon seized upon as an excuse for the further extension of the Congo State four years afterwards. This we may learn in a subsequent chapter.

Still, after all has been said to the discredit of the Congo State, the work which has been accomplished since Mr. Stanley descended

the Congo is marvellous. Its practice may not have been equal to its theory; but, the King having—to use a homely proverb—"paid the fiddler," it would

Future.

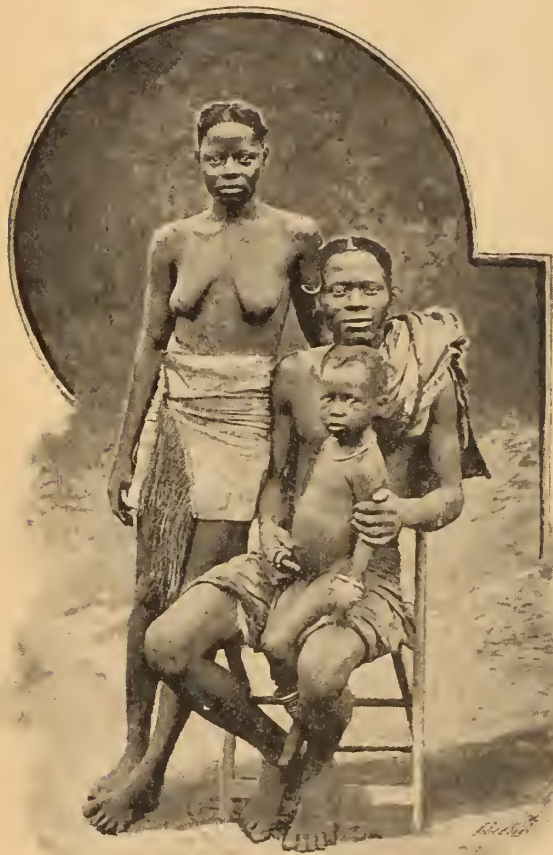
be unreasonable to deny him the poor privilege of "calling the tune." And the tune has been that on few parts of the Congo is it any longer dangerous for a white man to travel alone. On stretches where ferocious cannibals tried to intercept Mr. Stanley's party for culinary purposes, thirty-five steamers puff so familiarly as scarcely to arouse the interest of the *blasé* barbarians, who, if they have still to learn the blessings of toil, have made the first steps in understanding that without the products that can alone be obtained by it, there are to be had none of the articles which they have learned to look upon as indispensable. Serious blunders have been made in the past, and are still being made, through ignorance and through apathy; and unless the lavish expenditure is reduced, and the returns prove more in keeping with the money spent, the Congo State must undergo a radical change or pass into more experienced hands. When the Anti-Slavery Conference was held at Brussels in 1890, among other questions discussed was the necessity of restricting the importation of liquor, guns, and gunpowder into Africa; and one of the means adopted was the imposition of very high duties. This reopened the general question of a customs tariff in the State and the insertion of clauses in the General Act enabling the sovereign to levy them.

Since then King Leopold has developed the theory of his property in all unoccupied lands of the State, and also that ivory is to be a royal perquisite, and that all the products of the forest are His Majesty's.

The heavy taxes decreed, and this reservation of the trade in ivory and india-rubber as a Government monopoly, not only drove the Arabs on the Upper Congo into revolt, and led to the murder of State officials and other Europeans, but raised protests from the various companies and private traders engaged in developing the resources of the country.

* What we refer to is described more plainly in the diaries of some of the officers attached to the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. In 1894, so convinced was the King of the scant supply of proper material to draw upon in Belgium, that he once more turned to England and other countries for a leaven of a better quality among his officials. But the Congo country is not likely to attract much administrative ability of the best type.

A private factory on the Upper Mobangi was closed, and the same principle attempted to be carried out among the Arabs, who long



BOBANGI FAMILY.

(From a Photograph by the Rev. R. D. Darby.)

before the Congo was explored had been settled at Nyangwé. France had so firmly resisted the imposition of duties that, in order to obtain her signature to the General Act, a special treaty had to be entered into, while Holland stoutly declined to acquiesce in the alterations of 1890.*

It is certain that if the State, or its sovereign, monopolises everything worth owning, the private trader must soon cease to exist, and

the Congo State, which is virtually a Belgian colony, become a rather costly preserve of those who have financed it. But as such it cannot long remain. The conditions under which it was founded give Europe the right to interfere. If the State continues a drain on Belgium and its sovereign, it will undoubtedly cease to be the pet of either, and will then fall to France, if the treaty referred to (p. 175) is admitted to hold good. Should the State, on the other hand, prove a mine of wealth, Belgium will not be permitted to enjoy it alone or on the present conditions. In any case, the question of its "hinterlands" calls for settlement. But this had best be discussed when these contentious "spheres of influence" take their place in the Story of Africa.†

THE NIGER TERRITORIES.

The past and present history of the Niger River, the free transit of which was settled at the same time as that of the Congo, differs widely from that of its sister flood. Its exploration has been the work of many English travellers, labouring for many years, and both before and since the Landers traced it to where its waters creep into the Atlantic a host of valuable lives have been lost. Nor did philanthropy neglect the Niger, and missionary effort has had some of its most distinguished successes in the valley of this great river (Vol. III, p. 118).

But latterly the Niger has been the scene of an enterprise at once commercial and national, and those who have embarked their

† Wauters: "Le Congo Illustré" (1894, *et seq.*); Alexis M. G.: "Le Congo Belge" (1888); Bentley: "Life on the Congo" (1887); Ward: "Five Years with the Congo Cannibals" (1890); Werner: "River Life on the Congo" (1889); Coquilhat: "Sur le Haut-Congo" (1888); Thys: "Au Congo et au Kassassi" (1888); Van Mosel: "Étude sur la Législature de l'État Indépendant du Congo" (1889); Bateman: "The First Ascent of the Kasai" (1889), with De Carvalho's criticism on it, entitled "Lubuku" (Lisbon, 1889); De Winton, *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1886, p. 609; Stanley, *Harper's Magazine*, March, 1893; and, among the enormous mass of literature on the Congo which is continually appearing in Belgium, *Le Mouvement Géographique* from month to month.

* "General Act of the Brussels Conference relative to the African Slave Trade, signed at Brussels, July 2nd, 1890" (Treaty Series, No. 7, 1892).

capital in its exploitation have not, while sufficiently attentive to the moral welfare of the natives, made any pretence of being actuated by philanthropic motives. A reasonable dividend and the creation of new markets for British manufactures have constituted their aim; and, as the result has shown, the merchant has proved not the worst of missionaries.

When the Buxton expedition of 1842 ended so disastrously (Vol. I., p. 281), the inclination of the world at large was to leave the Kwora alone.

The Niger
trade in
embryo.

The discovery of Barth (Vol. I., p. 302) that the Benué extended to not far from Lake Tchad, again aroused interest in this great tributary of the Niger; and in 1854, mainly through the exertions of Macgregor Laird, a Government expedition, under the command of Dr. Baikie, of the Royal Navy, was sent to explore it. In

of the two rivers (Vol. I., p. 280), which for a time Dr. Baikie superintended in person as British Consul.* This remarkable settlement may be regarded as the first earnest attempt to open up the Niger to British trade and civilisation. Treaties were formed with the native chiefs, ground was purchased, and houses were built; and before long Lokoja was the gathering-place of half the tribes of this section of Central Africa. Of this motley crowd of barbarians and savages, speaking many tongues and following many customs,



RIVERSIDE SCENE, LOWER NIGER.

(From a Photograph by Capt. A. F. Mockler-Ferryman.)

this task he was remarkably successful. For his vessel penetrated the Benué for 340 miles without serious loss of life, and a station was founded at Lokoja, at the confluence

the seafaring surgeon was at once ruler, priest, physician, and schoolmaster; and was so

* William Balfour Baikie, M.D., was born at Kirkwall, Orkney, on the 21st of August, 1824. Entering the

esteemed by his subjects, patients, parishioners, and pupils, that before five years had elapsed British trading-vessels ventured up to Lokoja for barter with the natives. Vocabularies of fifty dialects spoken in the settlement were made, and portions of the Bible and Prayer-Book translated into Hausa by the young doctor, who completely won the confidence and respect of the Mohammedan Emir of Nupé, within whose dominions Lokoja then lay.*

The deaths of Baikie and of Macgregor Laird, whose trading station at Abo was destroyed and pillaged by the turbulent natives, put an end for a time to British commerce and influence on the Niger, and the Government having abolished the consulate at Lokoja, left the development of the Niger to private enterprise. Before long, however, British traders again commenced to venture up the river and to open relations with the more friendly tribes. The principal figure of that period was Mr. James Croft, whose name must be coupled with that of Baikie as a pioneer of British commerce among these people.

By 1878 there were four British houses carrying on their operations in steamers during the flood seasons, and having a few stations in the least insecure localities for trade during the long dry period. These houses were Messrs. Miller, of Glasgow; the West Africa Company, Limited, of Manchester; Mr. Pinnock, of Liverpool; and the Central Africa Company, Limited, of London. But the history of that time is one of constant pillaging and extortions by pagan tribes who did not care to trade themselves and were

envious of the more peaceful tribes who desired the benefits of commerce. The natives of the Delta, having obtained possession of cannon, fired on the passing steamers, one of which, in 1876, was riddled by more than forty shots. The rivalry of the different firms was so keen that not only did the Niger trade threaten to become unprofitable, but the turbulent tribes gained so much confidence from the divisions and intrigues of the handful of Europeans in their midst that it seemed certain that the Niger would be once more closed to British enterprise.

In this crisis the necessary man made his appearance. This was Mr. (afterwards Sir) George Taubman Goldie (p. 191), an ex-officer of the Royal Engineers, Sir George Goldie and the National African Company. who, having travelled for some years in other parts of Africa, visited the Niger in 1877-78, when he became convinced that no permanent development would be possible unless European authority and order were firmly established there. This conception, as simple when stated as that of Columbus and the egg, was the seed from which sprang the Royal Niger Company and an immense British sphere of influence in the heart of the Dark Continent. The first steps to carry out the scheme thus formulated were the amalgamation, in 1879, of all the British houses into the United African Company, and, two years later, an application to the British Government for a Royal Charter to legalise their efforts for the maintenance of peace and order. An objection was raised that such great powers could not be entrusted to a private company with a capital of only £100,000. Steps were, therefore, at once taken to throw the company open to the public, and, in 1882, it was converted into the National African Company, with a capital of a million sterling, the presidency of which was offered to and accepted by Lord Aberdare, at that time president of the Royal Geographical Society.

While these measures were being taken, the prospects of a Charter were apparently made hopeless by the action of foreign rivals.

Royal Navy, in which his father was a captain, he was appointed surgeon and naturalist to the Niger Expedition, and, on the death of his senior officer at Fernando Po, succeeded to the command of the *Pleiad*, in which he ascended 250 miles beyond any other explorer, returning, after an absence of 118 days, without the loss of a single man. The second expedition, in 1857, was less successful; for the vessel was wrecked, and the party breaking up, Baikie formed the Lokoja settlement on the site of a similar experiment in 1841 (Vol. I., p. 278). He died, on his way home, at Sierra Leone, in November, 1863.

* Baikie: "Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwóra and Binue (commonly known as the Niger and Tsadda) in 1854" (1856); "Despatches received from, etc." (1862).

The French had already made themselves masters of the upper portion of a river which had been explored and exploited by Britons and the British Government. They now endeavoured—more or less avowedly under the patronage of high officials in Paris—to gain, through commercial companies, influence over the tribes amongst whom English merchants had just evolved order on the Lower Niger. During the brief period of their operations two French companies did such mischief that it took years to overcome the anarchy their intrigues had renewed. But the National African Company, by lavish expenditure and the energy of their chief agent, the late David Mackintosh (a familiar name on the Niger), waged a war of competition and subsidies to native rulers against the new-comers with such effect that they soon retired from the river and left the British company undisputed masters.* As soon as the French flag had disappeared from the Lower Niger and Benué, the National African Company

Rivalry from various quarters.

again urged upon the Government the necessity of at once granting the long-deferred Royal Charter, which would secure to Great Britain the regions covered by the numerous treaties conferring sovereign rights which the Company had formed with the native chiefs. A step in this direction was accordingly taken by the proclamation of a Protectorate up to Lokoja on the Niger and to Ibi on the Benué. Yet even then the Niger was not safe. For at the Berlin Conference

* This, it ought to be added, was accomplished by other persuasions than the loss suffered by the shareholders. The French companies were bought out in cash and shares, so that at present the Royal Niger Company have on their list of stockholders French citizens with a large amount of capital.

an effort was made, on the part of some of the Powers, to apply to the basin of the river the same principle which, by universal consent, had been adopted for that of the Congo. The British delegates, however, pointed out that the cases were very different, no European traders being established on the Lower Niger or Benué, except one British Company, which had obtained by treaties with chiefs political rights for Great Britain. They might have added that the Company had bought out, or squeezed out, or swallowed up, all rivals, and might be regarded as the representative of the numerous merchants who had at different times done business on the rivers under discussion. Ultimately, the British contentions were admitted on condition that the navigation and transit over the waters of the Niger to places beyond British jurisdiction should be free to all nations, just as in recent years the navigation of the Danube and other rivers traversing different countries had been opened to the world, without thereby depriving these states of any territorial rights on their banks.



M. MIZON.

(From a Photograph by Otto, Paris.)

Meanwhile, though the Company had made treaties with 235 riverain states and tribes, giving them territorial rights over the entire region bordering the banks of the Lower Niger and its tributaries, of portions of the Middle Niger, and of the south bank of the Benué up to Ibi, the exaggerated importance attached to everything African, which had taken possession of Germany, threatened for a time to endanger the Company's control of the adjoining countries, just as, at a later date, the unscrupulous conduct of M. Mizon, whose "commercial and scientific mission" was subsidised by France, endangered their power on the Benué. The country on the north bank of the Benué and on most of the Middle

Treaty-making.

Niger was still open to foreign aggression. This, Herr Flegel, a German, who had been a clerk in a British house at Lagos, saw, and with great energy endeavoured to carry into execution. In the course of a few months he quietly explored much of the Niger and Benué country, and, aided by the German Colonial Society, was preparing to extend their national influence beyond the British Protectorate. But the British Company were quite alive to this risk, and took immediate measures to anticipate it. Mr. Joseph Thomson had just returned from Masailand (Vol. III., p. 312), and he, accordingly, was despatched to form treaties in the

jurisdiction from Lokoja to Timbuctoo and from Yoruba to Bornu.*

The British right to all the river below Timbuctoo† was now fully admitted, and the National African Company, at last receiving a Charter under the new designation of the Royal Niger Company, was charged with the administration of the territory.

Thus fortified, the Company could now perform at once their commercial business, and their functions as a sovereign power acting as the suzerain of Great Britain, without being afraid of any political rivalry. The Royal Niger Company, it is true, had not—

The Royal
Niger
Company.



KING OF ZHIBU AND SUITE, BENUÉ RIVER.

(By permission, from a Photograph by the Earl of Scarbrough.)

Company's interest with the Sultans of Sokoto and Gando. So quickly did he perform this task that in seven months from leaving England, in February, 1885, he was back with the documents in his pocket which secured the English company full rights of

as was the case with the old companies, or like the East India and Hudson Bay

* Thomson: "Mungo Park and the Niger" (1890); *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. II., p. 577, etc.

† This is roughly given as the limit; for, in reality, as the reader already knows, Timbuctoo is some distance from a *cul-de-sac* of the Niger.

Companies in the heyday of their greatness—any monopoly in the trade of the Niger. A rival, on paying £50 for a licence, could commence business, and, if possible, cut out the Company on its own ground. But it is

Nupé (p. 186) without payment of duties or concerning himself with the Company's laws. It was contended that Nupé was not dependent on the Sultan of Gando, with whom Mr. Thomson had made a treaty; and when



ARRIVAL AT EGGA OF MESSENGERS FROM THE SULTAN OF NUPÉ.

(By permission, from a Photograph by the Earl of Scarborough.)

perhaps, superfluous to say that the large capital and long experience of the chartered traders made this attempt more heroic than profitable. This even the associated merchants of Liverpool, who entered the Niger territories soon after the events described, eventually discovered; for in 1893 they amalgamated with their great competitors.

The encroachments of the French and Germans range, however, more under political than under commercial difficulties. Shortly after the grant of the Charter, Herr Hönigsberg, one of the many private traders by no means friendly to the Company, who was supported by the German Colonial Society, entered the Niger and visited the Emir of

the Company produced another treaty signed by the Emir of Nupé himself, the Germans replied that, at the time this compact was signed, the Emir believed—which is not unlikely—that the English, French, and Germans were all one people. But, in spite of Herr Hönigsberg claiming heavy damages (for his poaching on the Company's territories), his treaty-making proved of no more value than did that of Dr. Staudinger, who, after the death of Herr Flegel, carried on his explorations of the resources of the Niger country. Since that day the Company's officials have proved amazingly vigilant, both as traders and as diplomatists, and in each capacity, though not a great deal before the public, have done

their work admirably. The Company keeps the peace with the great Sultans, and has, to a large extent, crushed slave-raiding in the occupied portion of its sphere, and compelled the pagan chiefs to submit their disputes to the white man's arbitration rather than to the ruinous tribal wars which have been the curse of that part of Africa. Over forty stations for trade and administration (Vol. I., p. 21) are maintained; Akassa, at the Nun mouth of the river, being the place where an establishment is kept for the repair of the thirty steamers which navigate the Niger and its tributaries. But the capital—the administrative headquarters of the Company—is at Asaba (Vol. I., p. 272), 150 miles farther up. Here reside the Chief Justice and the principal officers, and at this spot are also the Supreme Court, the central prison, a hospital, and a botanic garden, in which plants suitable for cultivation from an economic point of view are experimented with, and distributed to other parts of the Niger Valley. At Lokoja (Vol. I., p. 209) and at Ibi on the Benué are the head-quarters of the military force of 1,000 men, consisting mainly of Hausas (Vol. I., p. 53) officered by Europeans, each civilian agent being, in addition, supported in his own district by a police force (p. 192).

From the territories india-rubber, ivory, palm-oil, gums, hides, and other products are exported: and among the chief imports are cotton goods, earthenware, hardware, powder, salt, silk, spirits, and woollen goods. The prohibition of spirits in the regions of the Delta is said to be impossible until the British Government accedes to the petition of the Company to impose a similar prohibition in the neighbouring regions of Lagos and the Oil Rivers. But by putting heavy duties on all entering the territories, and prohibiting the sale of any in the districts north of Lat. 7°, the consumption has been reduced to one-fourth of what it was before the Company's Charter was granted, and the extension of the spirit traffic into the interior is prevented; while cartridges and

rifles are refused entrance as articles of trade into any portion of the country.

From an official statement made in the House of Commons in June, 1894, it appeared that the proportion of "the total trade in the territories has averaged as follows during the seven years since the issue of the charter, namely, 1887 to 1893 inclusive—spirits, 12 per cent. of the whole trade; flint-guns and powder, 7 per cent. of the whole trade; cotton and silk goods, hardware, earthenware, and other wares, 81 per cent. of the whole trade; so that less than one-fifth of the commerce has been done in spirits, flint-lock guns, and powder. The aggregate of the trade liquors imported into the Company's territories in 1893 amounted to 318,831 gallons; but, as no spirits have been imported during the current year, the Company do not anticipate that the average importation will at any time rise beyond that for the seven years since the issue of the Charter, namely, 163,023 gallons." The revenue for defraying the expenses of administration is obtained chiefly from export duties, import duties being charged only upon flint-lock guns, salt, spirits, and tobacco; but, as the Company are the only traders of any consequence, this method of raising a revenue is merely transferring money from one pocket to the other.

The Royal Niger Company is thus peculiarly placed. For, in its capacity as an administrative body, it is obliged to maintain a staff of officials to carry out the regulations under which its Charter is held, without it always happening that these officials are thick-and-thin supporters of the Company's policy. On the other hand, as traders, with shareholders to face once a year, they must make the utmost profit possible. Thus, placed between two fires, it would be vain for the Royal Niger Company to please everyone. As a mere mercantile concern, it could declare large dividends were it not saddled with the heavy cost of administration; but this is the necessary result of the policy inaugurated by Sir George Goldie. To quote his words: "The

Its operations.

Its trade.

Its dual functions.

lamentable experience of the half-century since the discovery of the Lower Niger by the Landers has proved that these inland regions cannot be opened up without first establishing security to life and property. If the British taxpayer will not find the funds for this speculative undertaking, the only alternatives are to abandon the Niger basin to rival nations or entrust the necessary powers to British subjects willing to face the risks."

It speaks well for the character of those who have to maintain the dual system that the Company escapes with so little criticism, considering the fact that it can naturally be loved so little by its commercial rivals. The Company is the best of all allies to the missionaries within its administrative bounds. However, it makes no pretence to philanthropy, and can scarcely look to the future for any great accession to its revenues. For the best parts of the Niger country are quite unfitted for European settlers, though with care the seasoned whites on the upper river manage to get along without any undue amount of sickness. Yet the servants of the Company have to come home, to recruit, at frequent intervals, and in exceptionally bad seasons a great deal of sickness prevails, so that it is neither cheap nor easy to keep the posts always up to their full complement with men of the proper character.

Tribal wars and savagery cannot be extinguished in a single generation. Still we are told that both are rapidly decreasing,

and that men not long ago complete savages act as domestic servants, interpreters, pilots, engineers, and even captains of steamers. Notwithstanding the Company's interference with the slave trade, the Mohammedan Emirs continue fairly friendly, and would be still better were it not for the continual intrigues of French, and, until lately, of German adventurers.

Its civilising influence.

In the half-million square miles which constitute the Company's sphere of influence there is every grade of barbarian, from the naked savage who lives by his fishing-stakes, or, when he has a chance, on his fellow-man, to the semi-civilised Moslem negro potentate, whose cavalry—like that of Bornu—wear mediæval coats of mail (Vol. I., p. 248). Most of these people are conscious of the advantage they derive from coming into closer relations with the Company; and though it is possible, now that the French have taken



SIR GEORGE TAUBMAN GOLDIE.

(From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry, Baker Street, W.)

Timbuctoo, that the course of commerce will change, of late years the Soudan caravans have more and more preferred to come to the European stations rather than to the famous town that was at one time the emporium of Central African trade. The Company is endeavouring to persuade the natives to cultivate saleable crops, and already coffee and cocoa have been planted to a considerable amount. And, though trade grows slowly, the practical monopoly established—though the Company declares it wishes more traders, so as to help the revenue, a view not easily

accepted in the light of certain of its proceedings—has been entirely to the good of the natives and to the credit of Great Britain.

The Niger, we have seen (Vol. I, pp. 37, 38, etc.), crawls into the Atlantic through a swampy, unhealthy delta covered with oil-palms, which constitute its main attraction to the trader. At one time the most notorious of all the slave-trading centres, the Oil Rivers, as the many mouths of

than by securing the visit of a gunboat to the despotic chief or tribe. The Delta tribes were not therefore makers of palm-oil to any extent. They were middle-men, who acted as agents between the up-river tribes and the traders, exacting, of course, an unconscionable commission for their doubtfully useful services.

However, in 1884, the greater part of the coast between the Rio de Rey and Lagos was secured to Great Britain by treaties formed by the Consul Hewett (p. 172) with the native chiefs, and in

The Niger
Coast
Protectorate.

Consul
Hewett's
Treaties.



DETACHMENT OF THE ROYAL NIGER COMPANY'S CONSTABULARY AT ASABA.

(By permission, from a Photograph by the Earl of Starbrough.)

the Niger and adjoining streams are called, now derive more profit from the palm-oil which they despatch to Europe and America than ever they did from slaves, even in the most lucrative period of that infamous traffic. Up to the year 1884 the traders who did business in the prohibited region lived for the most part in hulks anchored off the villages (Vol. I, p. 33), and were not a sociable or a cultivated class of individuals. They lived mainly by the sufferance of the black "kings" to whose petty villages they had attached themselves by the process of paying "comey," or dues, "dashing," or making presents, and had no other way of righting the wrongs they had to run the risk of suffering

1891 was put under a Commissioner and Consul-General, under the name of the "Old Rivers Protectorate," a name which in 1892 was changed to the "Niger Coast Protectorate." Old Calabar is the seat of government, and the various districts are administered by Vice-Consuls at Opobo, New Calabar, Quaibo, Brass, Benin, Warri, and other places not under the Royal Niger Company, though every year becoming more and more affected by its commercial system. Practically the Protectorate is a British colony.

At first there was some friction between the Commissioner and the traders; but even they soon saw the advantages of having a regular Government and a power capable of



SPORT IN THE NIGER TERRITORIES
CUTTING UP AN ELEPHANT

breaking down the monopoly of the Oil River middle men. At one time, the standard of value in most of "the Rivers" was a bar of

equal to one "kroo," or ten gallons of palm oil; a goat was valued at from twenty to a hundred bars; a fowl cost one bar, and a river



POLITICAL MAP OF AFRICA AND ADJACENT REGIONS. (By E. G. Ravenstein.)

iron eight feet long, an inch and a quarter wide, and a quarter of an inch thick. Twenty bars were—in the Cameroons, for instance—

wife all the way from six hundred to fifteen hundred bars. Business is now conducted very differently than of old. The domestic

hulks are vanishing, and the zinc-roofed houses of the successors of the individuals once known—but no longer deservedly so—as the “P.O.R.” (the Palm Oil Ruffians) (Vol. I, p. 38), who lived on rum and preserved meats, are rising amid the lovely tropical foliage which clothes with so treacherous a mantle every foot-breadth of this unhealthy region.*

Its influence
on the Delta.

* Mockler-Ferryman: “Up the Niger” (1892); Taubman Goldie: “France and England on the Niger” (*Paternoster Review*, January, 1891); MacDonald, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1891, p. 449; Johnston, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1888, p. 749 (an excellent description of the delta); Thomson, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1886, p. 734; *Good Words*, 1886; and Johnston, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1886, p. 649; Goldie: “Old Calabar and its Missions” (1890); Foreign Office Reports on the Protectorate and private information.



MARKET CANOE AT EGGA, UPPER NIGER.

(By permission, from a Photograph by the Earl of Scarbrough.)

CHAPTER XII.

ZANZIBAR: THE IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY: ITS GREAT EXPERIMENT.

Zanzibar and its Sultan—The Relations of Great Britain to the Sultanate—Seyed Bargash Offers Sir William Mackinnon a Lease of his Dominions—The Germans Begin to Take Action—Prince Bismarck's Assurances—Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs' Proceedings—Dr. Carl Peters on the Scene—Treaty-Making and Annexation—The German East Africa Company—Great Britain's Action—Zanzibar and Germany Coming to Terms—Mr. H. H. Johnston's Treaties at Taveta—Kilimanjaro—Witu and the Witu Company—The Sultan Accepts the Inevitable—Portugal and Zanzibar—The Tungi Bay Difficulty—The British East Africa Association—Its Concession from the Sultan—The Association Receives a Charter as the Imperial British East Africa Company—Its Aims—Ibea—Dr. Peters and his "Emin Pasha Rescue Expedition"—Further Annoyances from the Germans—Mr. Mackenzie Organises Ibea—The Slave Difficulty—The Lamu Concession—Arbitration—The Manda and Patta Troubles—The Collapse of the Witu Company—The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890—Britain Accorded the Protectorate of Zanzibar—A Mombasa-Victoria Nyanza Railway mooted—The Culmination of the Imperial British East Africa Company's Career.

GREAT BRITAIN had so long regarded all Africa beyond the Atlas not owned by France, Spain, or Portugal as hers for the taking, that it required the Berlin Conference to convince her statesmen that a new claimant had arisen with colonial aspirations and scant scruples as to their gratification. The Congo, the Niger, and the rest of West Africa having been disposed of, that vast section of East Africa beyond the Portuguese territories was the next subject of heated diplomacy. Since the year 1856, the

The Sultan-
ate of Zan-
zibar. Sultanate of Zanzibar had been ruled by an Arab sovereign quite independent of his relative who held the kingdom of Oman, or Muscat (Maskat), in Arabia. The seat of government was at Zanzibar town, on the island of the same name, and, nominally, it extended from the River Jub in the north to Cape Delgado in the south, including the various coast-lying islets. How far the Sultan's authority was recognised in the interior depended on how far the ivory- and slave-traders from Zanzibar reached. In Central Africa several of these magnates had established what were virtually—like Tippoo Tib's settlements (Vol. III., p. 31)—petty despotisms, over which their overlord on the far-distant shores of the Indian Ocean neither had, nor desired to possess, any direct authority. For generations this had been going on, and we have seen that when Livingstone, Burton, Speke and Grant, and other early explorers penetrated to Tanganyika,

Nyassa, and Victoria Nyanza, they met Arab traders who found it convenient to honour the commands of the Zanzibar ruler, in case they might be made answerable for their conduct when next they appeared with their wares in the slave-market of his capital, just as their fellow-ruffians who did business in the Upper Nile and 'Albert Nyanza region admitted a wholesome fear of the Khedive's representatives at Khartoum. But Zanzibar was at best a loosely-welded, ramshackle sort of empire; and, so far as the country a few miles from the coast was concerned, was occupied in the most ineffective manner. Business, except that of buying ivory and stealing slaves to carry it, was confined to the coast; and among the traders the "Banians," or Hindoo merchants (p. 11), exercised—as they still exercise—a powerful influence on the commerce of the country. The Sultan's guards were Beloochees, who swaggered and robbed after the fashion of mercenaries in an Eastern court; while the Hindoos formed by far the wealthiest and most enterprising class in the community, being at once the principal dealers and the capitalists who found the means for fitting out caravans in which they possessed a secret or open interest.*

Apart from British subjects being individuals of such importance in Zanzibar, a large share of the trade of the place was with India or with England, and, as the

* Burton: "Zanzibar City, Island, and Coast" (1882).

consequence of a succession of able Consuls-General and Political Residents, the power of Great Britain, represented by Sir John Kirk (Vol. II., p. 237), was getting paramount with the Sultan, when Germany began to assert herself. As far back as 1865, Kersten, one of the survivors of Von der Decken's expedition (Vol. III., p. 294), advocated the annexation by Germany of the region south of the River Jub; and in 1875 Admiral Lurniss pro-

Mackinnon a concession by which he, or a company to be formed by him, should farm for seventy years the customs, and carry on the administration of his dominions, with



CORAL ROCKS, WAZIN,
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
COAST.



WANGA TOWN, BRITISH EAST AFRICA COAST.

(From Photographs taken for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

certain reservations in respect of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The Scottish merchant, on whom such plenary power was pressed, had established the line of steamers which had for the first time connected Zanzibar with the ports of India and Britain, and, in other re-

posed that, as the Hamburg trade was second only to that of England, Zanzibar should be accepted as a Protectorate of Germany.

Berlin was not then ripe for so pronounced a step; but the counsel was not forgotten when, two years later, Seyed Bargash, the then Sultan, proposed to the late Sir William (then Mr.)

spects, by the rectitude of his character and the mutual benefits resulting from his enterprise had obtained the confidence of the Sultan. But, until he was assured of the necessary support from the Foreign Office, Mr. Mackinnon declined to move; and, as this countenance was not forthcoming, a great opportunity had to be passed. But, just as

Germany and
Britain at
Zanzibar.

England waved the Sultan's importunities aside, Germany began to court his favour in a way that aroused the suspicions of even the British Foreign Office. However, on Prince Bismarck giving an assurance that the Emperor was not endeavouring to obtain a Protectorate over Zanzibar, the vehement

relations with Zanzibar, contemplated the possibility of any other nation taking her place. The Chancellor's reply was not very satisfactory. It consisted mainly of a correction of Lord Granville's dates and historical facts, though, as its general tone was in the direction of a denial that the newly-



WANYIKA ON MAGARINI PLANTATION, BRITISH EAST AFRICA COAST.

(From a Photograph taken by Mr. Fitzgerald for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

outcry of the Colonial Party in Germany concerning the desirableness of securing a footing in a region hitherto regarded as the British sphere of action, was not sufficient to suggest any guarantees against a step so damaging to British interests. But in 1884, on Dr. Gerhard Rohlfs (Vol. III., p. 91), one of the keenest of the annexation advocates, being appointed German Consul-General to Zanzibar, Lord Granville felt it necessary to explain to Prince Bismarck the uneasiness with which Britain, after her long and intimate

appointed German representative had any other object in view than to extend commercial relations with Zanzibar, the Foreign Office, for once well awake, as the voluminous correspondence shows, had to content itself with a diplomatic acceptance of the Reichskanzler's word.

This placidity was, however, not long permitted to remain undisturbed. Under the guidance, and at the instigation, of Dr. Carl Peters (Vol. III., p. 64), who had resided for some time in

German annexations.

England but copied the least admirable of models both in colonisation and exploration, the newly-founded Society of German Colonisation began to take the most aggressive method of carrying into effect the national designs on Africa. These aspirations were not conceived on a modest scale. The country, it was affirmed, must be boldly annexed in a wholesale fashion, and without any foolish regard to the feelings of Johann Bull or anybody else. For, after what had happened in South-West Africa, that sordid personage was not likely to say much to the victors of Sedan. All the country south of Santa Lucia Bay being barred by the agreement between Britain and Germany, the Society now began to cast longing eyes on the country between Tanganyika Lake and the Indian Ocean. A secret expedition was accordingly resolved upon. Accompanied by Count Joachim Pfeil and Dr. Jühlke—two men in many respects his antipodes—Dr. Peters proceeded to Zanzibar disguised as a mechanic, and, aided by the German Consul-General, extracted, on the 19th of November, 1884, a “treaty,” of the kind with which we were soon to get very familiar, from the native chief at Mbuzini. Hoisting the German flag at this spot, more treaties were formed with ten “independent chiefs of Usagara”; and, in virtue of these easily-obtained documents, Peters hurried back to Berlin to announce to his employers that they had the fee simple of 60,000 square miles in Useguha, Usagara, Ukami, Nguru, Umvomero, and Mukondokwa.

Thereupon the German East Africa Company was founded on the 12th February, 1885: and almost on the same day that the Berlin Act was signed the Emperor granted a “schutzbrief,” or charter, extending the Imperial protection to this or to any other territory acquired by the Colonisation Society. In vain the Sultan protested against this annexation of his territories. Britain, on whom he had relied, and under whose protection he had more than once been anxious to place himself, was not for him. Indeed, Sir John Kirk, who had

long been his trusted friend, was directed by the Government to use his best endeavours to persuade Seyed Bargash to tolerate the latest aggressions, which he did, in spite of Prince Bismarck’s accusation that the British Political Agent had been fomenting the natural indignation of the Sultan. As the Germans affirmed that the annexed country lay 100 miles back from the Zanzibar territory, while the ruler of that ill-defined empire declared that the cession of sovereign rights out of which the chiefs had been cajoled was null and void, by reason of the fact that the country was not theirs to bargain away, Lord Granville proposed that a Delimitation Commission should be appointed to define the bounds of the country in dispute. This was all the more necessary in so far that certain “British capitalists” had by this time developed intentions on the same country which might, unless the rival interests of the Powers were settled, clash with vested rights, however new. Moreover, it was necessary to make friends in view of the difficulties Great Britain had deliberately encountered in Egypt (Vol. II., p. 159). And, lastly—though this, with most of the reluctant condonations of Germany’s dubious proceedings, was an afterthought—it would have been idle for Britain to monopolise half of tropical Africa without being able to make much use of it. In time, the wisdom of this consolation became too apparent, since much even of the huge section which by-and-by fell to her was found so unprofitable that it had to be abandoned for commercial purposes.

The principal difficulty which the conjoint Delimitation Commission had was in assigning Mount Kilimanjaro to either Power. This snow-capped clump (Vol. III. pp. 300, 308) was now seen to be of value in the near future as a sanatorium. This fact the Sultan had, indeed—either through his own prescience or by the teachings of others better informed—become aware of, and he had despatched troops into the country around to make treaties with the chiefs, and thus anticipate the Germans at

**The German
East Africa
Company.**

**Zanzibar and
Germany
coming to
terms.**

their own game: though, at the same time, by recognising the power of those whom he claimed as his vassals to cede territory, he stultified the position he had originally taken up. These treaties General Mathews, an ex-English Naval Lieutenant, who was at that time acting as the Sultan's Commander-in-Chief (he was afterwards Prime Minister), had no difficulty in obtaining. But the Germans were also busy managing similar concessions: and, still further to complicate matters, Sir H. H. Johnston, during his residence for scientific purposes on Kilimanjaro in 1884,* had received from Mandara, chief of Taveta, certain territorial rights, which he had made over to the President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, as the representative of the "British capitalists" to whom Lord Granville had referred in his despatch to Prince Bismarck.† This concession was also a stumbling-block in the way of the German Chancellor. For he evidently regarded it as granted by the Sultan of Zanzibar, and therefore as interfering with the agreement just entered upon for delimitating his territory and that claimed by the Germans.

All the time, the Sultan remained obdurate, in spite of the good offices of the British representative; and it was not until the 14th of August, 1885, on the presentation of an ultimatum by a German squadron anchored in front of his palace, that Seyed Bargash agreed to recognise accomplished facts so far as the German annexations were concerned. The "British capitalists" to whom Mr. John-

ston's concessions had been made over do not appear to have ever emerged from the chrysalis state of a syndicate. They had, no doubt, in Lord Rosebery, at the Foreign Office, a firmer backing than in his predecessor. But the Germans were quite as strenuously supported, so that, except as the germ of the future East Africa Company, the Kilimanjaro capitalists do not play a very prominent part on the stage of history. The Delimitation Commission did not hurry itself.

Hence, it was not until the close of 1886 that an agreement regarding the relative spheres of Germany and Zanzibar was arrived at; and in that compact Kilimanjaro, by a deliberate deflection of the straight boundary-line, was included within the Teutonic territory.

But as the German appetite for what it was feeding upon became keener and keener, the petty Sultanate of Witu was next absorbed, on the ground of some vague statement that Richard



SIR JOHN KIRK.

(From a Photograph by Elliott & Fry, Baker Street, W.)

Brenner, a former comrade of Von der Deeken, had, years before, concluded some kind of treaty with its ruler. In this little district north of the Tana River's mouth, all—or at least a great many—of the scoundrels of Zanzibar found a welcome Alsatia. And, on the Germans becoming exceedingly complaisant, Herr Clemens Denhardt (Vol. III., p. 295), who acted as agent for Simbu, then Sultan of Witu, readily obtained from that magnate a grant of 500 square miles for the Witu Company, which in May, 1885, was placed under Imperial protection.

Much of what was then done in a rough way was afterwards modified by friendly arrangements between the Powers. Yet for some time the boundaries thus fixed caused

* Johnston: "The Kilima-Njaro Expedition" (1886), and *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1885, p. 137; Meyer: "Across East African Glaciers" (1891), etc.

† "Africa," No. 3 (1887) Blue Book.

Witu and
the Witu
Company.

severe heart-burning in England, though it is only fair to say the Germans were quite as loud in declaring that the pliability of their Government had put them in a less favourable position than they had any right to expect. The independence of Zanzibar having been admitted by all the Powers concerned, and the compact mentioned being acquiesced in,

half-million of square miles of which he had hitherto been the suzerain without anyone disputing his right. Even this shrunk sovereignty threatened to be further abridged; for now Portugal appeared on the scene with her eternal clamour ^{Portugal and Zanzibar.} regarding rights acquired and lost, yet never abandoned, and her musty charts



MOSQUE OF FRIDAY, KILWA ISLAND, GERMAN EAST AFRICA.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

the Sultan, in accepting the arrangement, granted a lease of the customs of his ports of Dar-es-Salaam and Pangani to the German East Africa Company, in return for an annual payment to him calculated on the basis of the duties paid. He also at the same time agreed to withdraw his protection from Kilimanjaro, which Lord Iddesleigh had made over to Germany, and to relinquish his claim to sovereignty over the Witu coast. All that was left the Sultan was a strip of coast about 600 miles in length, instead of the vague

and parchments regarding dead and forgotten sea-raivers. By an agreement between her and Germany, the Rovuma River was assigned as the northern boundary of Portugal, the frontier running west of the confluence of the River M'singe to Lake Nyassa; though, as no definite limit was assigned to Portugal west of Nyassa, this indefiniteness left an opening for a quarrel between her and Great Britain regarding that lake and the Zambesi-Shiré Valley, which in due time had to be settled after a mighty effusion of words on both sides and a great deal of harmless

The Sultan
accepts the
inevitable.

truculence from the Lisbon side of an unnecessary dispute.

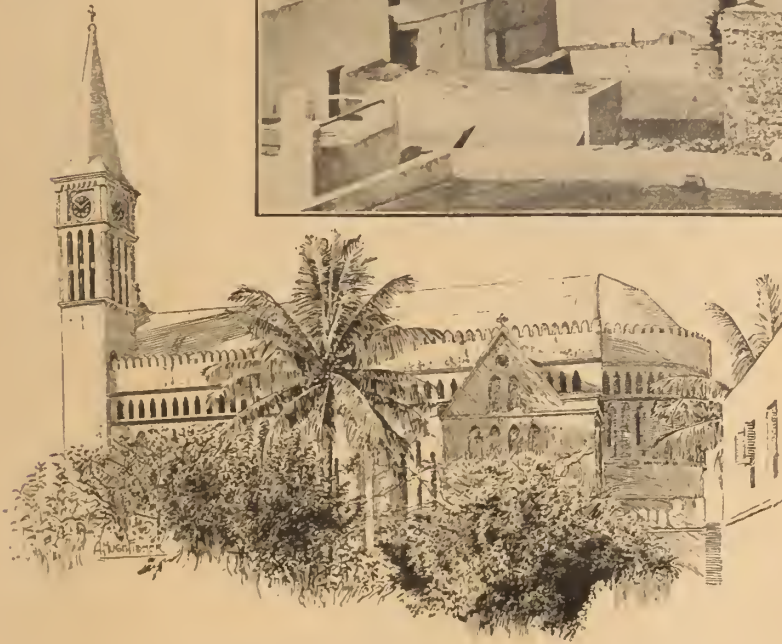
Meanwhile, the Sultan of Zanzibar, indignant at being deprived, by a rather liberal interpretation of the German treaty, of the northern part of Tungi Bay, where for ages he had exercised sovereignty and had still a military post and Custom House, declared that he would not submit to his dominions being thus filched by Portugal, even though the robbery was executed with the acquiescence of the greater Powers. Portugal, on her part, was quite as determined not to submit to any

were on hand. Happily, however, His Very Faithful Majesty carried his indignation at not receiving other men's lands without a protest on their part no further than seizing one of the Sultan's vessels in Tungi Bay and bombarding, with a most extravagant waste of ammunition, a number of wretched villages not worth the powder and shot which it had been



ZANZIBAR: A GENERAL VIEW.

(From a Photograph supplied by
Mr. H. M. Stanley.)



CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL, ZANZIBAR.

(From a Photograph taken for the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.)

further diminution of her rather inflated claims: and when she appeared off Zanzibar, as her emphasis to this declaration, with a squadron of war-ships, it seemed that all the materials for a petty war

were on hand. Happily, however, His Very Faithful Majesty carried his indignation at not receiving other men's lands without a protest on their part no further than seizing one of the Sultan's vessels in Tungi Bay and bombarding, with a most extravagant waste of ammunition, a number of wretched villages not worth the powder and shot which it had been necessary for the dignity of Lusitania to expend upon them. As only a few harmless Arabs were hurt by these indefensible operations, which were chronicled in the Portuguese press as if each of the hamlets battered to pieces had been an African Gibraltar, it is hard to imagine what purpose,

except the prudent gratification of a fit of bad temper, could have been served by them. Portugal even refused to pay any compensation to some British subjects injured by the fire. But, though she was permitted to retain Tungi

Bay, she did so without recognition by the Powers, and had in due time, by the inflexible attitude of Britain in the Zambesi-Nyassa dispute, to pay rather dearly for the muddy shore she had snatched from the Sultan of Zanzibar. One thing was, however, now



SIR WILLIAM MACKINNON.

(From a Photograph by John Fergus, Lurg, N.B.)

certain and that was that no further illusions need be cherished as to the intentions of Germany regarding East, or, indeed, any other part of Africa. At all events, if any dreams of disinterestedness on the part of Berlin were still clung to in London, no such notions had a place in the Sultan of Zanzibar's forecast of the future. Poor Seyyed Bargash, it is only just to his political astuteness to say, never dreamt many dreams flattering to Prince Bismarck's scruples regarding African kings. Seeing, therefore, how the flood was flowing, he lost no time in taking measures to preserve, as far as possible, what still remained to him of his once wide-stretching empire. Accordingly, on the 25th of May, 1887, he again approached Sir William Mackinnon on the subject of the concession which the Scottish merchant had declined in days when Seyyed Bargash was less pressed by hungry Europe (p. 196). This time the offer was made through the British Consul-General at Zan-

zibar, and was accepted on the old understanding that, if the Foreign Office refused its support, further negotiations need not be pursued. This time, however, no difficulties were put in the way of Sir William and the Association which he formed to carry out the concession granted for a period of fifty years. By this document the Sultan delegated to the Association all his power on the mainland from the River Umba to Kipini, with the right of levying taxes, collecting the customs, disposing of the public lands, administering justice and government generally. In consideration of these almost sovereign powers, the Association agreed to pay the Sultan "the whole amount of the customs duties which he now receives from both the import and export trade of that part of his Highness's dominions included in the concession." These consisted, according to the commercial treaties then in force, of 5 per cent. *ad valorem* on all imports, and an export tax varying from 10 to 15 per cent. on the produce brought from the interior, according to a fixed tariff. A concession in terms almost identical was granted in April, 1888, by the Sultan to the German East Africa Company, though with this difference: that, in the latter case, the expenses of collection to an amount not exceeding 170,000 rupees, with a commission of 5 per cent., were to be deducted from the sum paid to the Sultan. The British terms were also more favourable than the more grasping terms exacted by the Germans, in so far that by them it was stipulated that, in addition to the fixed rent calculated in accordance with the result of the first year's experience, the Sultan should receive such proportion of the net profits after payment of 8 per cent. to the shareholders as should pertain to one founder's share to be allotted to him; and he was, further, to be paid 50 per cent. of the additional net revenue coming to the Association after payment of the stipulated rent.*

* These data are derived from "British East Africa or Ibea" (1893). Mr. P. L. McDermott's authoritative history of the British East Africa Company, compiled from official documents.

Unfortunately for the Sultan—and for his concessionaires—these stipulations appeared more liberal on paper than they turned out in reality. When Mr. Stanley started on his expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha, his journey was initiated by, partly at the expense of, and more or less directly under, the direction of the Association (Vol. III., p. 74), though it was denied that it was taken with any objects not unselfishly philanthropic. The German East Africa Company was, however, not quite so sure of this, and objected to the expedition travelling through their territory, lest, after effecting its purpose, the party should be utilised “for the establishment, or paving the way for the establishment, of British Protectorates at the back of the German sphere of influence” (Vol. III., p. 31). And, possibly, this Teutonic suspicion was not without foundation: though, at the date of Mr. Stanley’s departure, the Imperial British East Africa Company was still known as the East Africa Association. Under the latter guise, it was occupied during 1887 in concluding numerous treaties with the interior tribes—Wagalla, Wadigo, Wakamba, Wateita, and others, by which sovereign rights were acquired for a distance of 200 miles from the coast, or far beyond the ten-miles strip of shore which constituted the original concession to Sir William Mackinnon and his associates.

The time had now arrived for forming the Association into a Company, and this ac-

Imperial
British East
Africa Com-
pany.
Accordingly was
done on April
18, 1888, un-

der the name which has ever since been a familiar one in the contemporary chronicles of Africa. Its capital was nominally £1,000,000, though the first issue was limited to

£240,000; but, it is understood, has much exceeded that amount. Of this sum, with which it was proposed to exploit a region nearly four times the size of Great Britain, the founders subscribed all the way, from the £25,000 credited to the President to £1,000, which was the modest share of other “adventurers” in an enterprise which at the time many sanguine folk believed would by-and-by equal in magnificence the famous East India Company, on which it was modelled. Among the best-known of the founders were, in addition to the late Sir William Mackinnon, its first President (p. 202), Lord Brassey, General Sir Donald Stewart, Sir T. Fowell Buxton, Sir John Kirk (p. 199), General Sir Arnold Kemball, the late General Sir Lewis Pelly, Colonel Sir Francis De Winton, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, the late Mr. A. L. Bruce, Mr. George Sutherland Mackenzie (p. 207)—the President’s business partner—Lord Kinnaird, Mr. R. P. Harding, Mr. W. H. Bishop, Mr. James F. Hutton, and Mr. Robert Ryrie.



WATEITA WARRIORS.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Thomas Stevens.)

The enterprise upon which they had engaged was, indeed, worthy of their courage; for, in addition to the objects of the concession which they took over, they proposed to

acquire more territory in the British sphere of influence by treaty, by purchase, or otherwise, to levy taxes and customs, to grant licenses, to coin money, and "generally to exercise all the rights pertaining to sovereignty over acquired districts." And, lastly, the Imperial East Africa Company planned, as the backbone of their operations, to carry on trade in "Ibea," as their territory came in time to be called.* The Germans, having intimated that,

whose hands the details of African colonisation had fallen. Instead of rising to the dignity of the great affairs entrusted to them, they sank in every transaction to the level of the petty huxtering with which most of them had previously been more familiar. And, indeed, when we look back to the troubles which the two great Powers—for the first time close neighbours—met with in their new spheres of action, it is impossible not to



WASUK, NATIVES OF SUK, N.E. OF VICTORIA NYANZA.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)

"for the future," they would confine their operations "to the territories south of Victoria Nyanza," the Company petitioned for, and on the 3rd of September, 1888, received, the royal charter, under which their political and mercantile operations have ever since been carried on.

But though the Germans had, on paper, thus nominally ceased from undue rivalry with the English in their own territory, it was all along evident that anything like generosity could not be expected from the class of men into

Dr. Peters' proceedings.

* From the four initials of "Imperial British East Africa" Company.

attribute much of it to the ill blood engendered by the trade competition which had been permitted to poison the higher relations of the Companies. Every simple mistake in geography—and the Germans soon became much better acquainted with the academic aspects of their affairs than the English—was taken advantage of, with a vexatious pertinacity which savoured of "attorneyism," and every trifling point argued with pedantic verbosity. Still more, on almost the day that the British Company received their charter, an article by Gerhard Rohlfs appeared in the chosen organ of the Colonial Party, not only ignoring the extent to which the Germans had



VIEWS IN IBEA.

1. On the River Turpelle.
 2. Cañon on the River Anghil.
 3. Elgon Warriors.
 4. Caves, Mount Elgon.
- (From Photographs by Mr. Ernest Ingham.)

been helped in acquiring their hold in East Africa by the good offices of the British Government, but indicating very plainly the line they intended to adopt towards their too complaisant neighbours.

Mr. Stanley had left on an expedition ostensibly for the relief of Emin Pasha, though it was believed in some quarters that Emin was only the blind for purposes less noble. Germany, therefore, also started a scheme of the same character under Dr. Peters, the projectors of which, after a little pressure, had to confess might be "likely to assist in consolidating German colonial enterprise in Africa," and therefore ought to be carried into execution at any sacrifice. Dr. Peters, we have already learned (Vol. III, p 59), did not rescue his countryman—indeed, did not see him until he met him at

Britain and Germany having come to an agreement regarding their mutual spheres, all his treaty-making had gone for nothing. This, however, was not due to any good-will on Dr. Peters' part: for, under the transparent disguise of a philanthropic expedition, he had done his best to hamper and outflank the British Company. Starting from Witu, after evading the British warships engaged, like those of Germany, in blockading the coast, he started—it is fair to believe, without the approval of the German authorities at that spot—up the Tana River, just after the British Company had despatched another caravan in the same direction. His primary object was, however, not to rescue Emin, but to obtain concessions in the easy fashion of distributing flags and getting chiefs who could not write to "sign" treaties giving away territory which



A CARAVAN CAMP SCENE IN EAST AFRICA.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Thomas Stevens.)

Mpwapwa returning with Mr. Stanley's party, and, it was complained, did what he could to help his employers by incensing the vacillating Pasha against his English friends—and only learned on his return to the coast that,

they did not own, and thus shut Great Britain entirely out of the "hinterland" of her coast-lying country.

After travelling up the Tana River, having continual quarrels with the Masai, due to the

unconciliatory manner in which he treated them, he arrived in Uganda, and had no difficulty in inducing the feeble king, M'wanga, to sign a document which his visitor regarded as a treaty of protection (Vol. III., p. 159).

However, the British Company was not idle. Routes for caravans into the interior had to be explored, stations and stockades

The Imperial
Company
begins work;
the slave
difficulty.

established, and the commercial capability of the country between

the sea and Victoria Nyanza tested more thoroughly than the pioneer explorations of Burton, Speke, Grant, Thomson, Fischer, and other travellers, had been able to do. Mr. George Mackenzie (p. 203), already familiar with Persia, and not a stranger to Zanzibar, was appointed first Administrator of British East Africa, where he arrived in October, 1888. Seyed Bargash had died* some months previously; but his successor, Khalifa, showed himself quite as friendly as his brother to his tenants or suffragans, the British Company.

Difficulties, nevertheless, soon arose. The high-handed conduct of the German officers, utterly unacquainted with the art of ruling uncivilised races, had precipitated a rebellion all through their territory, which, to a certain extent, reacted on the people living within the sphere of the British Company. Add to this, the missionaries, with the best of intentions, had acted somewhat indiscreetly in the ever-burning question of domestic slavery. The result was that many slaves had run away from their masters and taken refuge at the mission-stations. The white men were naturally blained for this interference with a national institution, which it is idle to expect can be suppressed suddenly. War and anarchy, accordingly, seemed imminent, and, with the

disorder which would ensue, the progress of civilisation would be checked for an indefinite period. Mr. Mackenzie was, therefore, compelled to act promptly and to compromise, with the inevitable results of not fully satisfying either party; though the Arabs, if not quite pleased, were compelled to admit the justice of their new rulers. Had the missionaries been allowed to persist in their

original refusal to surrender the runaways to their owners on any conditions, we have the authority of Sir Charles Enan-Smith, then British Consul-General at Zanzibar, for saying that the bitter sense of injury felt by the Arabs towards the Church Missionary stations at Freretown, Ribe and Rabai (Vol. III., pp. 131, 312) must have inevitably resulted in these posts being, before many months had elapsed, the objects of open and violent attack. As matters stood, the missionaries refused to deny the slaves an asylum,

the slaves declined to return to their masters, and the latter were resolved to recover their property. To purchase the refugees would have been illegal, and, moreover, simply an encouragement to the slave trade, since the Arabs would have immediately bought more slaves at a low figure, and encouraged them to take refuge with the whites, in the hope of the Company ransoming them at a good price. Yet the legal rights of the owners could not be ignored by the Moslem law, which held good throughout the Zanzibar dominions, and had always been recognised as binding on the Powers in treaty with the Sultan.

The compromise between confiscation and inhumanity was to induce the Arabs to look upon the chattels simply as so much lost property, and to accept, not as the price of them, but as compensation, twenty-five dollars



GEORGE SUTHERLAND MACKENZIE.

(From a Photograph by Thomas Fall, Baker Street, W.)

* He died, March 27, 1888.

a-head; and, on receiving this sum, to grant "freedom papers" to the 900 fugitives harboured at Rabai and over 500 found at some of the neighbouring mission-stations. About the same number of masterless slaves, for whom no claim was made, were given "permits of residence." This enabled the missionaries to prevent any additions to the number of refugees by turning out of their

ceremony of the slaves receiving free papers at the mission-station at Rabai. "Such a scene," Sir Charles Euan-Smith writes, "has certainly never before been witnessed within the limits of the African continent."† They had often heard the white men inveigh against the sin of slaveholding and seen the warships capturing and confiscating the dhows full of stolen blacks. But until the 1st of January,



PRESENTING PAPERS OF FREEDOM TO 1,422 RUNAWAY SLAVES AT RABAI.*

(From a Photograph supplied by the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

stations those unable to produce this "permit." For to send these waifs and strays back to their own countries would have simply ended either in their starving or returning in the next slaver's caravan. This arrangement cost the Company fully £3,500. But it conciliated the Arabs, who, no way inclined to quibble over the nicety of the five pounds being compensation and not payment, assembled from far and near to witness the

1889, they had never known 1,422 runaways receive their freedom at the cost of the preachers of this novel doctrine. The British cruisers co-operated with the Germans in the blockade of the coast which had been declared by the latter. This was, to a certain extent, a risk, since it made the German quarrel British also; though, on the other hand, by showing the Arab rebels that the white men, if keen rivals in trade and politics, were as one so

* By Mr. George S. Mackenzie and General L. W. Mathews, C.M.G., as representing the I. B. E. A. Company.

† "Africa," No. 1 (1889), p. 35 (Blue Book), and McDermott's "British East Africa or Ibea" (1893), p. 26, where a fuller description of the scene may be found.



GROUP OF RESCUED SLAVE-GIRLS AT MBWENI, ZANZIBAR.
(From a Photograph by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.)

Pigott explored the country up the Tana River, and proceeded by way of Mount Kenia as far as Uganda, which Messrs. Jackson and Gedge entered solely on the invitation of the king and the missionaries, Mr. Jackson's instructions being not to raise any suspicion in the mind of the shifty M'wanga that his expedition had come with the object of punishing him for the murder of Bishop Hannington (Vol. III., p. 153).

far as they were concerned, this accommodativeness was not entirely gratuitous.

A dispute now arose between the Germans and the Company whether the island of Lamu belonged

These early frictions with the dominant race being over, Mr. Mackenzie began by improving Mombasa (pp. 12, 13), which was selected as the Company's seat of government; and, besides organising operations at the other posts, stations were established as far as Machako's (Vol. III., p. 162), 250 miles in the interior.* Two caravans under Mr. Jackson and Mr.



GROUP OF RESCUED SLAVES.

(From a Photograph taken by the Universities' Mission on H.M.S. "London," latterly used as a depôt and hospital in Zanzibar Harbour.)

* Ravenstein, *Proc. Royal Geographical Society*, 1891, p. 193

to the Sultanate of Witu, which the former had annexed somewhat irregularly (p. 199).

The question was put to the arbitration of Baron Lambertmont, Minister of State to the King of the Belgians. No doubt could exist that the Sultan had intended in his original concession to supplement it by not only the island and port of Lamu (Vol. III., p. 23), but the adjoining islands of Manda, Patta, etc., and the ports of Kismayu, Brava, Merka, and Magadisho, on the Somali coast; and this view was taken by Seyed Bargash's successor. The arbitrator also came to the conclusion that the proposed agreement might be signed between the Sultan and the British Company "without giving rise to any rightly founded opposition." Accordingly, on the 31st of August, 1889, Sir Gerald Portal, Sir Charles Euan-Smith's successor, obtained the Sultan's signature to the proposed concession on terms which were considerably modified and extended.

But though this decision closed the dispute regarding Lamu and other northern ports, it did not end the hostility of the defeated party, or "lessen the disposition," to use Mr. McDermott's words, "of the Imperial Government to support them in any pretensions, however preposterous or untenable, which they might advance with the object of thwarting and embarrassing the British East Africa Company." After the failure of these efforts to obtain Lamu, the Witu Company practically collapsed. They offered their property and rights to the British Company; but, as the German Government did not agree to withdraw its Protectorate over Witu and the adjoining coast, the negotiations fell through. On the contrary, the Belesoni Canal, or artificial channel through which the canoe traffic from the Osi to the Tana passed, was next claimed by the Germans. They even disputed the British rights to the islands of Manda, Patta, Kwyhu, etc., coming under the Lamu concession, and went so far as to demand of the Sultan, Seyed Ali, who had now succeeded to his brother Khalifa, that he

should rescind that concession. A Protectorate was actually established for a time: and it was not until October 15th, 1890—several months after the Anglo-German agreement to be presently mentioned—that the Company was formally permitted to occupy Manda and Patta, so persistently did the Colonial Party push their opposition, *bon gré, mal gré*, in a region where, but for the good-nature of the British authorities, the Germans would never have obtained a footing. All this time the Witu Company, having in vain hoped to recruit its exhausted treasure by administering the Lamu customs, was in a state of ludicrous unsubstantiality. An association that claimed to possess sovereign power over a Sultanate, and to treat on equal terms with the British Company, had never a nominal capital exceeding £25,000, and in March, 1889, was reduced to a single shop, presided over by Herr Toeppen, its solitary agent. This gentleman, who had displaced Herr Clemens Denhardt, played a leading part in the intrigues by which the British Company was annoyed, and had been importing firearms into Witu, and otherwise acting in a manner which rendered it impossible to deal with him on the terms due to a diplomatist with clean hands. At the period when one of the British Vice-Consuls visited Witu Mr. Toeppen was carrying on "a retail trade in oil, crockery, calico, and piece goods," which modest business represented almost the entire German commerce in the annexed Sultanate. For little had been expended in Witu, and no plantation on any scale had been attempted.

In short, the disputes which Germany was continually fomenting, simply to help the game of a few speculators, were becoming so absurdly out of proportion to the ends served, that at last common sense got so much the better of national pride, that in the month of July, 1890, an agreement was arrived at regarding the questions in dispute.

By this final compact, Germany agreed to retire to the south of a line extending from the Umba River on the coast to the

The Lamu concession.

The Anglo-German Agreement, 1890.

eastern side of Victoria Nyanza. The vicissitudes of Witu were not yet at an end. But this new frontier left it and the River Jub, over which Germany had declared a Protectorate, to the operations of the Imperial British East Africa Company. From Igucha, where the straight line of demarcation reached the lake (still, however, bending so as to include Kilimanjaro in the German portion), the boundary ran across that sheet, and from its western shore to the Congo Free State, though it deflected southwards to include Mount Mfumbiro. Finally, the northern boundary of the British sphere was to follow the course of the Jub to the source of the western tributaries of the Nile. This was, so far, satisfactory, as it settled what was only too likely to cause trouble; though, as the original understanding was that Germany should not operate north of Victoria Nyanza, it was less than Great Britain had any right either to expect or—unless for the sake of peace—accept. However, a second portion of the agreement gave

Great Britain (not the Company) the Protectorate of Zanzibar and Pemba. As the Sultan's predecessors had more than once offered this responsibility, Seyed Ali readily agreed to this further diminution of his authority. Nevertheless, as the non-interference of Germany in the affairs of a kingdom where she had been permitted to intermeddle solely owing to British indifference, was purchased by the cession of the British colony of Heligoland, a tiny islet near the Elbe mouth, there were not lacking critics who affirmed that Germany had made a good bargain by obtaining something very solid in exchange for something else which was not hers to dispose of. Be this as it may, the British sphere now included a huge territory—most of the Victoria Nyanza shores, all Uganda and Unyoro, much of Karagwe, the Lakes Albert and Albert Edward countries, the Egyptian Equatorial Provinces, and Darfur and Kordofan; though, as these were originally part of the Egyptian Soudan, a question might have been raised—and, indeed, was

raised four years later—as to Britain's right to step into the abandoned heritage of the Khedive.

In any case, since much of this enormous sphere of influence was unexplored, there could not possibly be any "effective" or other "occupation" of three-fourths of it; while the Mahdi did actually, and that in a most effective manner, occupy most of the Upper Nile Valley, from which he had expelled the Egyptians. On Mr. Stanley's march to the coast with such of Emin's people as chose to follow their ruler, he made treaties with various chiefs to the west of Victoria Nyanza, which documents he handed over to the Imperial British East Africa Company. Messrs. Jackson, Pigott, and Gedge had also been busily making terms with the tribes on their route to Uganda, and reporting on the capabilities of the country for settlement by agriculturists, like Indians and Persians, accustomed to a hot climate.

But it was clear that until a mode of penetrating the country more economical than that hitherto adopted was obtained, ^{A Mombasa-Victoria Lake Railway.} little use could be made of the regions far from the coast. Elephants had not proved a success during the brief trial they had obtained (Vol. III., p. 269), while horses and cattle could not pass the tsetse-fly belts with impunity. Camels promised better, if only roads through the bush and over stony tracts could have been prepared for them; though, farther north, they are regularly used by the natives (Vol. III., p. 233). The same objection applied to mules and donkeys, which were employed to some extent, and, at worst, were better than the lazy, shift, and extremely costly porters.

Still, as freight from the coast to Victoria Nyanza averaged something like £250 a ton, it was evident that it would not pay to convey many articles in the far interior of the African continent without a railway. A survey by Captain Macdonald, R.E., showed there were no engineering difficulties in the construction of a railroad, half the way being almost level, while the Mau escarpment,

ascending to and descending from a plateau 3,000 to 4,000 feet in height, could be overcome without any serious trouble. But, though they had laid a few miles of tramway out of Mombasa, the British Company's resources were unequal to the construction of a line of railway 500 miles in length from Mombasa to Berkeley Bay, the proposed harbour on Victoria Nyanza.* The British Government made a grant of £20,000 to

* Pringle, *Geographical Journal*, August, 1893, p. 112 (with detailed map and illustrations); "Papers relating to the Mombasa Railway Survey and Uganda" (Blue-Book, Africa No. 4, 1892).

defray the expenses of this survey. The Berlin Anti-Slavery Congress of 1891 bound those taking part in it to take "effective" means for suppressing the slave-raid. So far as Great Britain was concerned, this bond was unnecessary. Yet it was contended that the money spent on the railway would be less than what "effective" means for crushing slave-raiding in the interior would cost, even though the British Company should be the chief gainers by it commercially. These arguments, *pro* and *con*, however, received a fresh force by events which just then occurred in Central Africa.



OFFICIALS OF THE IMPERIAL BRITISH EAST AFRICA COMPANY MAKING TREATIES WITH CHIEFS IN KIKUYU.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)



CAPTAIN LUGARD'S EXPEDITION: OFFICERS, CARAVAN HEADMEN, AND SOUDANESE.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)

CHAPTER XIII.

AN EMPIRE UNDER A COMPANY: THE FAILURE OF AN EXPERIMENT.

Troubles in Witu—The Responsibilities of Empire Beginning—Uganda—The Company Encouraged to Take Possession of It—Arrival of Captain Lugard—A Treaty—Civil War—The Company Declines to Accept Any Longer the Privileges of its Government—Money Subscribed for Their Forces to Occupy it for Twelve Months Longer—Civil War Continues—The King Deserts his Capital Once More—Returns—Final Treaty—Re-arrangement of the Kingdom—Captain Lugard Leaves Uganda—His Merits—Sir Gerald Portal's Mission—The Company having Abandoned the Country, It is Temporarily Supervised by Imperial Officers—Portal's Plans—His Report—Uganda Becomes an Imperial Protectorate—Decline of the I.B.E.A. Company—Begins to "Unload" an Empire—Witu Abandoned to the Zanzibar Protectorate—The Company Asks for Compensation—Offers to Surrender its Charter—Freeland—Zanzibar under British Protection—The Coming Fall of the British East Africa Company—Its Services to the Empire and its Niggardly Reward—A Great Experiment and a Splendid Failure.

WHEN Witu was surrendered in terms of the Anglo-German agreement of 1890, that somewhat undesirable Sultanate was made over to the Imperial British East Africa Company. But Britain was soon to experience, as the French had done, the responsibilities of Empire in East Africa, so far as the ill-humour of rulers and peoples bartered about without their wishes being consulted was concerned. In September, 1890, after the treaty referred to had been signed, but before it had been actually carried out, nine Germans were murdered in Witu, with the undoubted connivance

of the Sultan, who refused either to present himself at Lamu or to punish the assassins. It was, therefore, necessary to chastise this refractory suzerain of the Queen by burning, first, the villages implicated in the crime, and then capturing and destroying his half-deserted capital. This naval operation being accomplished, with the loss of twelve men on the British side and eighty on that of the nefarious natives, peace was made on the 24th of June, 1891, by the Witu people agreeing to accept the Company's rule, and to abolish—as Seyyed Ali of Zanzibar

had already abolished — slavery and the slave-trade, hitherto so flourishing on that part of the East African coast. But the deposed Sultan, Fumo Omari, did not so readily acquiesce in the new arrangements. Allying himself with Avatula, a neighbouring chief of the Waboni people, who had made a treaty with the Company and repented him of his rashness, the two established themselves at a fortified place called Jongeni, in the Waboni territory, and there defied the Company to interfere with their raids, depredations, and slave-hunting exploits. An expedition sent against them in April, 1892, however, was not long in capturing their stockade and reducing the chiefs to the condition of rulers with nominal authority over their former dominions.

Meanwhile, the Company was energetically pushing its enterprise in an opposite direction. In another place (Vol. III., p. 160) we have seen how Messrs. Jackson and Gedge had, at the king's request, entered Uganda, shortly after he had made a treaty with Dr. Peters, in spite of the protests of the English missionaries, on the ground that M'wanga had previously accepted the flag and protection of the Company. Jackson was, however, unable to come to any definite arrangement with the fickle king, who, by the time his new visitors arrived, seems to have altogether forgotten

Peters and his treaty. Accordingly, leaving Mr. Gedge to represent the Company at Mengo, Mr. Jackson went to the coast, only to find that by the Anglo-German agreement all of Dr. Peters' industry in treaty-making had been thrown away, since Uganda and the entire region between it and the Indian Ocean — within the limits mentioned (p. 211) — was

now a British sphere of influence — the "hinterland," as the new term put it — of the coast-strip forming the original cession of the Zanzibar Sultan to the British merchants.

Mr. Gedge was, however, not so favourably impressed with M'wanga's conduct and character that he felt any good was to be gained by the Company extending its operations to Uganda. A semi-religious, semi-political war (Vol. III., pp. 154–161) was raging at intervals, and for the time



M'WANGA AND CHIEFS.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)

being the king, after his restoration, had fallen entirely into the hands of the Wa-Franza, or French party, as the Roman Catholic missionaries and their adherents called themselves, in contradistinction to the Wa-Ingleza, or Protestants, who clung to the English teachers. These factions were fast becoming two great political parties in, respectively, the British and French interests. In England the tale of this turmoil had aroused the alarm of the friends of the missions, though the missionaries them-

Refractory
Sultans and
their sub-
jects.

Captain Lu-
gard reaches
Uganda.

selves were by no means at one in desiring any interference by means of the civil power. This, however, was not the general view, and the Company, listening to the requests of the British Government, resolved to extend their power at once to Victoria Nyanza. Thus it was that Captain Lugard (Vol. III., p. 67), who had acquitted himself with distinction during the Arab disturbances on Lake Nyassa in 1887-88, made his appearance there in December, 1890 (Vol. III., p. 161), with a force consisting of about 300 men, including Soudanese and Zanzibar porters. By a forced march he arrived at the point where the Nile flows out of Victoria Nyanza (Vol. II., p. 293), in forty-two days after receiving his orders at Kikuyu, and five days later, without waiting for the king's permission, was at Mengo, where M'wanga was then residing (p. 217).

At that time he found Uganda in the midst of the sectarian war; Protestants and Roman Catholic converts ready to cut each other's throats, while Moslems and Pagans were eager to unite for the annihilation of both preparatory to falling upon each other. Rapidly entrenching himself at Kampala (Vol. III., p. 157)—near the king's "palace" and the Protestant mission—on an elevated position, which commanded the town, Lugard speedily showed that, though his force was small, he was determined to submit to no insolence on the part of the king or his chiefs. Strong measures were necessary. The Roman Catholics were openly inimical to the East Africa Company, and the Protestants' attitude towards its representatives was less cordial than might have been expected, while not far away the Moslems were waiting the first favourable opportunity for taking possession of the country. As for the Pagans, when not ready to join the winning side—"a plague on all your factions" was the purport of their anathemas.

However, by the exercise of some firmness, not far removed from that force which is necessary in dealing with potentates placed like M'wanga between rival councillors, a treaty was signed (on the 24th of December,

1890) by which the king recognised the supremacy of the Imperial East Africa Company and of its Sovereign the Queen of Great Britain. This compact was only for two years. It was difficult to convince M'wanga that the Germans had agreed to hand over Uganda to the British—he had received so many unofficial assurances to the contrary. He even sent envoys to the coast to learn whether, in the event of a bigger white man arriving, he would not be compelled to sign another treaty surrendering Uganda to his people, and so place him between two stools. Meanwhile, Captain Lugard constructed a fort (p. 220), and in February, 1891, Captain Williams of the Royal Artillery, arrived with reinforcements, which convinced the chiefs that it was wisdom to be on friendly terms with such masterful men. M'wanga was, however, never more than a mere cipher in the hands of his changeful councillors (p. 214), whose aim all along had been to defeat the objects of the English Company, and to keep them away from Lake Victoria, though affecting, all the time, great friendship to the officers of the hated corporation.

The position of Lugard and his brother-officer was perilous. Supplies were difficult to obtain, and, until Captain Williams arrived, he was daily in danger of being attacked by the Wa-Franza faction. The Arabs disliked men who were of a different faith, and, moreover, apart from representing a Power inimical to their traffic in slaves, were their most influential rivals in legitimate business.

The Roman Catholic Bishop and his clergy were always opposed to the British—less for religious than political reasons. But, in spite of Dr. Peters' rodомontade, they were no more friendly to the Germans, wishing the country and their converts to be left alone, so that their power might be paramount. However, in addition to these malcontents, there were always elements enough in Uganda for mischief, without one sect of Christians warring with another. The Court was crowded with obsequious Arabs from Muscat—men who could smile and smile and be the villain—

runaway Egyptian soldiers from the Soudan, adventurers from the East Coast and Madagascar mountebanks, minstrels, dancers, and

and the Lake Albert Edward country, establishing posts and concluding treaties, and returning with the remnant of Emin's forces



THE I.B.E.A. COMPANY'S CAMP OUTSIDE KIKUYU FOREST.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)

dwarfs. And amid this heterogeneous mass of knaves, Captain Lugard's little force found plenty ready to play the traitor and the intriguer, without taking into account the fears of the feeble-minded M'wanga himself.

Yet by the spring of 1891 the country seemed so peaceful that Captain Lugard,

**The Pax
Britannica.**

having, as he thought, settled all disputes between the rival parties, left to chastise the treacherous Kabba Rega, King of Unyoro, who had succoured the Mohanmedans exiled during the recent troubles. The result of this expedition was the defeat of the king, and the difficulties from that side ended for the time being. He then marched into Buddu, Ankole,

left by Stanley on the shores of Albert Nyanza (Vol. III., p. 66).

At Uganda, however, he found matters less favourable than he had left them in the border countries, or than they were when he had left Kampala on the expedition from which he returned on the 1st of January, 1892. During the eight months of his absence the old feuds had been simmering, though Captain Williams had been able with his small force to keep them from bursting out afresh. Lands and offices, the hostility between the rival chiefs, and the instability of the king, who had hoisted the old flag of M'tesa instead of the one given him as the symbol of his allegiance to the Company, were

the primary causes of the hostilities then brewing, and likely, unless checked, to efface the signs of civilisation springing up apace in the shape of education, better houses, fenced lands, roads, greater security for travellers, and improved trade.

Worse still, the Company, finding Uganda and its resources had been greatly over-estimated, and that the means of a private organisation were unequal to the task they had undertaken, issued orders to evacuate the country and retire, so far as they were concerned, to Kikuyu (Vol. III., p. 221). Captain Lugard wisely remonstrated against a resolution dictated by the commercial interests of a Company the pecuniary concerns of which naturally swayed more weightily

The Company resolves to withdraw from Uganda after twelve months' grace.

“religious question” also at stake, and this turned the balance, especially as the prospects of the western country, from which Captain Lugard had just returned, were not sufficiently brilliant to tempt the Company, and there was almost the certainty of Kabba Rega massacring all the people who had taken sides against him in the recent war should the troops be withdrawn from the newly-established posts.

But as soon as it was evident that to evacuate Kampala meant, in all likelihood, the return of anarchy and the restoration to power of the Mohammedan party, and not improbably the massacre of the missionaries, then sufficient funds—nearly £40,000—to defray the cost of another year's occupation were subscribed and put at the dis-



MENGO, UGANDA.*

(From a Sketch by Bishop Tucker.)

than the political or philanthropical aspects of their responsibilities. But there was a posal of the Company. This offer was accepted on the distinct understanding that at the

* The sketch is taken from the top of Namirembe Hill, and shows the King's Hill and house. The lower flagstaff denotes the position of the house of the Katikiro (Prime Minister). The Victoria Nyanza is seen in the distance, and on the right the King's Lake, the making of which preceded the first revolution.

close of that period their responsibility must end. The resolution, come to on the 16th July, 1891, to withdraw, was therefore cancelled until the 31st of December, 1892, three months being allowed for the order to reach Kampala. This period was afterwards extended at the Imperial Government's expense to the 31st of March, 1893 (p. 224); and, until the British Government could make up its mind what to do with these latest possessions, Captains Lugard and Williams resumed their anxious position of holding the balance as impartially as possible between the rival sectaries in this schism-torn realm. It was not long before their services in this capacity were called upon. The bad blood between the Catholics and the Protestants having burst forth in an act of violence by the former in the marketplace, civil war began to rage. Anxious though Captain Lugard was to show no favour to either party, he found it necessary in this quarrel to take the side of the feebler Protestants and shelter the missionaries in the fort, while Williams captured the king's hill and enclosures (p. 217). Meanwhile, the victorious Protestants compelled the defeated Catholics to retreat to the lake with the king; and the eleven priests, in order to escape violence

Civil war.

from those who, perhaps unjustly, considered them responsible for the attack, were persuaded to accept the hospitality of Kampala, where the arrangements made for their comfort were acknowledged with a courtesy scarcely to be inferred from the complaints made by their superiors in France.

Afraid, however, of losing their hold upon the king and the converts with him, the Fathers soon insisted on joining them on the island in the lake whither they had fled; and this Lugard, on the Bishop promising to bring back the king to Mengo, permitted them to do. For, in spite of the most unkingly conduct of M'wanga, his person was still so sacred, that without him it would have been impossible to restore a semblance of order.

But either because they changed their minds, or by reason of the *force majeure* being too

much for them, the Bishop and his clergy did not keep the conditions on which they had been allowed to join their co-religionists. On the contrary, they were accused, not without reason, both of detaining the king, and of encouraging the Catholic Waganda to defy the Protestants. Accordingly, under cover of Captain Williams's fire with the Maxim gun from the mainland, the latter attacked the island and routed their opponents with much bloodshed. The priests, who narrowly escaped the carnage of these ill-advised hostilities, returned to Kampala that night. But the king, with the Bishop and the remainder of the Catholic Waganda, fled to Sesse and Buddu, "thus threatening the Protestants there, and cutting off the Company's garrisons in the west." *

With the Protestant masters of Uganda, the work of civilisation had, to a large extent, to begin afresh. The prospects of the country had suffered severely. Religious and political rancour had become more intense than ever; and, with Mengo partially in ashes, much of the Catholic missionaries' and other property had been destroyed. Yet, without the king, it was hopeless to start the country on a new lease of life. To complicate matters still further, the "Futabanji," or Pagan party, were marauding in Chagwe and cutting off communication with Usoga (p. 219) and the coast. It was, therefore, necessary to crush them. This was accordingly done by the middle of March, 1892, the road opened to Usoga, and the islanders, whose allegiance to the Company was doubtful, brought over to a more wholesome frame of mind. The Catholics, like the Mohanmedans, having no wish to expedite the king's return, it was necessary to open negotiations with the former, if the symbol of authority was again to be set up in the capital. This was fully accomplished by M'wanga escaping from his friends and

* Major Foster's "Handbook to East Africa" (1893), p. 67. In this admirable memoir, issued by the Intelligence Department of the War Office, with two large maps, nearly every fact relating to the Company's territories has been sifted with the utmost care from information published and in manuscript.

throwing himself "unreservedly into the arms of Lugard."

Peace now began to dawn. Kabba Rega, having failed in an attack on the Toru posts, thought it well to make friends of those whom he had found too powerful to defy. The Buziba chiefs of Southern Buddu followed his example, and from all sides the country people, who had hitherto not known which side to take, plucked up courage as soon as they saw that the Wainjeza were in earnest. Another treaty was now drawn up, by which the different religious factions agreed to confine themselves to specified sections of the kingdom, the Protestants occupying the capital and the country of which it forms the centre. The Company's Protectorate was also fully acknowledged, slave-raiding or trading prohibited, and the importation of arms forbidden in Uganda, as in other parts of Africa under the control of the different European Powers.

The Mohammedans, it is true, were inclined to give trouble, and, indeed, long after the treaty was signed, were trying to seek the countenance of Selim Bey in their unruly proceedings (Vol. III., p. 67). They refused to give up their latest puppet king, M'bago, an uncle of M'wanga, and even threatened to advance on Mengo. But, after a friendly conference, they agreed to M'bago living in Kampala under British surveillance, while they accepted the province allotted to them, on condition of the Protestants being removed from it—to such a degree of sectarian hatred had the *odium theologicum* reduced this singularly intelligent people in the course of a few years.

Captain Lugard's last treaty.

At best, this arrangement was only a compromise; since it was admitted that eventually it could not be maintained even in the interests of peace. The Company remaining firm in its resolution to abandon Uganda, as a luxury too costly for a trading association, the shareholders of which, if not swayed by love of gain, could not, as Sir William Mackinnon put it, continue to "take out its dividends in philanthropy," Captain Lugard left the country with the Royal Engineers' party, who were returning to the coast from their survey for the proposed railway to Victoria Nyanza. "*Te Teneo, Africa*," this gallant officer might have fittingly claimed, so far as Uganda was concerned. He had committed mistakes possibly, but it is doubtful if anyone placed in as difficult a position could have laid himself less open to criticism.



WAKOLI, CHIEF OF USOGA.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)

Unfortunately, however, Captain Lugard's proceedings "got into politics," so that his services to the country, instead of receiving any reward, were actually the theme of heated comments in and out of Parliament: while his efforts at impartiality obtained for him only scant thanks from the Protestants, hatred from the Mohammedans, and accusations—coupled with a bill for damages—from the Roman Catholic Fathers and their political supporters.*

* Lugard: "The Rise of our East African Empire," 2 vols. (1893). This work is exhaustive from nearly every point of view. The Catholic side of the question is presented in a "Memorandum on the War in Uganda, 1892," issued by the Catholic Union of Great Britain (1894); while the opposite side is presented by Mr. G. S. Mackenzie in the *Fortnightly Review*, July, 1892, p. 23. See also Parliamentary Papers relating to Uganda,

Indeed, for weeks after his return, columns of Parliamentary debates were plentifully filled with the merits and demerits of Captain Lugard, the advantages and disadvantages of the Imperial Government making the East Africa Railway, and, generally, on the question of whether Uganda ought to be retained or left to itself; though, practically, this would undoubtedly mean being occupied by some other civilised Power. The main result of

commission to make inquiries on the spot regarding what ought to be done with Uganda. Meanwhile, Captain Williams was left as Resident at Kampala, Captain Macdonald, R.E., who, after completing the railway survey, had been empowered to report on the facts relating to the late war, taking up that responsible position on his departure until Colonel Colville assumed office as Commissioner. The East Africa Company duly retired



KAMPALA, UGANDA, SHOWING THE FORT BUILT BY CAPTAIN LUGARD.

(From a Sketch by Bishop Tucker.)

these discussions, which were too markedly run in party grooves to be very persuasive, was that the East Africa Railway was postponed to an indefinite day, and

Sir Gerald Portal, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Zanzibar despatched at the head of a small

1892, *et seq.*; Bentley: "Handbook to the Uganda Question and Proposed East Africa Railway" (1892); Mackenzie: "The Trade of British East Africa" (1894), and "British East Africa" (*Proceedings of the Colonial Institute*, November, 1893; Hobley. "People, Places, and Prospects in British East Africa" (*Geographical Journal*, Aug., 1894, p. 97), Portal, "Report" and "Mission," (1894), etc.

from the position forced upon it in Uganda, when the date fixed for doing so had expired, Sir Gerald Portal appointing the officers of his staff, who had been selected mainly for their capabilities in such responsibilities, to the vacated military and administrative positions.

However, the Company, though their Empire had been voluntarily pruned of Uganda, did not intermit their exploitation of the rest of their territory. **The Company's work.** This, indeed, had been vigorously proceeding all throughout the stirring days in Uganda. Not only had Mr. Jackson's and other caravans been exploring the best

commercial routes to the lakes, and Captain Lugard, by his journey from Mombasa up the Sabaki and Athi, and then, *viâ* Kikuyu, Lake Naivasha and Baringo, Kavirondo and Usoga, established stations all the way to Victoria Nyanza, and made treaties with the chiefs

Naivasha (Vol. III., p. 302) due west over the Mau Escarpment into Kavirondo, until the lake was struck at Ugowe Bay. In returning to Naivasha by a more northerly course, part of Captain Smith's party suffered loss by an attack from the people of the Sotik country.



RETURN OF CAPT. LUGARD'S CARAVAN TO
THE EAST COAST ON SEPT. 1, 1892
HALT AT MAKUPA FERRY.

(From a Photograph taken for the Imperial British East
Africa Company.)

around them, but special expeditions were sent out for these purposes. Captain Eric Smith was commissioned in December, 1890, to travel by way of Teita and Machako's—where Captain Lugard had founded a post, and near which there is now a mission-station—to Dagoreti, in the Kikuyu region (another of Lugard's stations), in order to explore a more direct route to the great lake than by the roundabout one by Baringo. This he endeavoured to find by going *viâ* Lake

As a rule, however, the prudence with which the experienced officers of the Company treated the natives, and the confidence which their justice inspired, ensured the caravans now despatched in all directions a friendly reception from the tribesmen, who shrewdly concluded that they had much to gain by this course of action and a great deal to lose by the contrary. Above all, they began to learn that there were white men and white men: Germans who shot them down, and English-

men who treated them like overgrown children, as in many respects untutored savages are. In 1891 Captain Dundas, R.N., explored the Tana in a stern-wheel steamer, for three hundred miles, to the head of navigation at Hamaye, close to which the Company established a post. From thence he left the river and proceeded as far as Mount Kenia, returning to the river, while the caravan which he had accompanied marched south through Ukambani to Nzoï and Mombasa. Captain Dundas next ascended the Jub (or Juba) for nearly four hundred miles, as far as Bardera, where progress is barred by rapids, though the jealous Somali tribes were at times inclined to dispute the way.*

began not only to abate much of their innate insolence, rapacity, and blood-thirstiness, but became so friendly that they permitted caravans to pass without the customary molestations. The Company's operations were now limited in the interior by Kikuyu, and the route thither from Mombasa through Ukambani, this circumscription of their sphere of action being taken on the 31st of March, 1893, when they withdrew from Uganda. Caravans were enjoined to keep a record of their observations, for which a blank form † was drawn up, and, though sportsmen were no longer encouraged to slaughter the still abundant game, scientific men found every assistance put in their way. A journey into



EAST AFRICAN CARAVAN PORTERS BUYING FOOD.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Thomas Stevens.)

But by this time the policy of the Company had been so successful that even the Masai, at one time so implacable (Vol. III., p. 307),

* Gedge, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1892, p. 513; and Dundas, *Geographical Journal*, March, 1893, p. 209. See also Gissing, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1884, p. 551; and Smith, *Supplementary Papers Royal Geog. Soc.*, Vol. II., p. 101.

East Africa, and even a visit to the great lake, ceased to be a traveller's tale. It was scarcely worthy a line in a newspaper. Missionaries trudged up and down in safety, and a caravan from the interior would meet a

† This form is reprinted in Major Foster's "Hand-book," pp. 96-97.

party of sportsmen, or traders, or a naturalist, bound inland—like Mr. Scott-Elliot for Ruwenzori,—with scarcely the surprise which Speke and Grant heard, during their long silence in the same region, the faint rumours of a white man no nearer than Gondokoro on the Upper Nile.

Then came Sir Gerald Portal's report, though unhappily not before this amiable diplomatist had met an early death from illness contracted in

Sir Gerald Portal's report.

Uganda. He lived to reach home, but his brother fell a victim to the country fever, a rather damping commentary on the otherwise favourable view which was taken of the future of M'wanga's kingdom. Almost immediately on Portal's arrival he was impressed with the intelligence of the natives, their love of knowledge, and their passion for books in their own language. The king did not, it is true, improve on further acquaintance. But in the evil days which had been passed by him the pusillanimous sovereign had ate of the tree of knowledge, and the envoys he sent to the coast had told him enough of the white man to cause him abandon any hope of further resistance either by force or fraud. Selim Bey's men were promptly enlisted in the English service, and Captain Lugard's division of the country so far modified as to prevent the imminent possibility of the various sectaries—the Roman Catholic in a special degree—setting up kings of their own faith, and thus tearing the country asunder, instead of consolidating it as was the intention of this agreement. The Roman Catholics, as the largest body, obtained an increase of their territory and the right of having huts within the royal enclosure, during the chiefs' yearly attendance on the king, this privilege being hitherto accorded to Protestants alone.

More offices and rank were also granted them, and finally an agreement was arrived at by which the heirs to the throne should be put in charge of the Resident at Kampala. The king having no male children, and the laws of Uganda not permitting a woman to reign, his heirs are M'bago, the king's uncle,

and his three nephews, two of them the sons of the late Karema, and the third a son of Kiwewa, also deceased. The last-named resides with his uncle, M'bago, and, being a Mohammedan, is, like him, virtually excluded from the succession. The two other claimants are Roman Catholics, and live with their mother at the French mission-station of Bukumbi. M'wanga is the natural guardian of these children, and his rights were stoutly supported by the English Bishop and his clergy, on the ground that, the king having now identified himself with the Protestant party, might, if he chose, bring them up in that faith. But it was wisely decided not to permit them to remain in the power of a man whose hands were steeped in blood: and, the Roman Catholic Bishop, Monseigneur Hirth, being willing that Sir Gerald Portal's compromise should stand, on condition that the Fathers should have access to them at all times for the purpose of religious teaching, they are now at Kampala. It may be added that in all these discussions an amount of sectarian acrimony was displayed that at times threatened to break up the conference, the Church Missionary people—quite honestly, no doubt, and for reasons not indefensible—opposing liberty of conscience to the extent of trying to secure the passage of a stipulation that, if any man changed his creed, he should forfeit his estates. Among other recommendations for the government of Uganda, Sir Gerald Portal suggested its control by a British Commissioner, with a staff of thirteen officers and a force of five hundred Soudanese soldiers, with a road commandant to have the control of transport from Kikuyu to the lake at Berkeley Bay, a second Commissioner, with a sufficient staff of porters and soldiers, having his headquarters at this point. None of the officials were to be permitted to engage in trade, either on their own behalf or on that of the Government, the main object in their being appointed being to encourage independent and private commerce by every means at their command.

These recommendations were duly agreed to by Mr. Gladstone's Government, and Uganda for good and all was retained as an integral portion of the East African Protectorate. A staff of officials was organised, and, though the chief power was still left in the hands of

Uganda: A
British
Protectorate.

some launches despatched for service on Victoria Nyanza.* But the railroad which Sir Gerald considered essential to the proper administration and development of the country was again postponed, though not without the possibility of being undertaken in the near future. Meanwhile, communication between



DESPATCH FROM THE COAST OF SPECIAL MAIL CARRIERS, WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO HOLD UGANDA FOR A FURTHER PERIOD OF THREE MONTHS.

(From a Photograph taken for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

Colonel Colville, one of the earliest of whose duties was to chastise the irrepressible Kabba Rega of Unyoro, a period was looked forward to when the Civil Administration of Uganda should be separated from the military command of its forces. The latter are for the present fixed at 1,200 Soudanese, for whose use large quantities of stores have been sent to Kampala. A monthly transport service has also been organised, and a steamer and

Uganda and the coast has become so safe and rapid that in the summer of 1894 Major Owen travelled from Kampala to the sea in forty-five days; and Mr. Ernest Berkeley succeeded in doing so in even less time. This is a considerable progress since 1889, when the early caravans of the East Africa Company took five months to cover the same distance.

* Statement by Lord Kimberley in the House of Lords. August 20th, 1894.

"From Uganda to Mummia's, Kavirondo, is seven days' march, leaving a total of thirty-eight days from Mummia's to Mombasa. If I did it with full loads, cattle, &c., surely then the mail men with half-loads should have no trouble in reaching Mummia's in thirty days from the coast, properly conducted. Though I have not been able, from want of time, to follow the course of the Sio River from Mummia's to Victoria Nyanza, I am told on good authority it is perfectly navigable for canoes, so that mails could reach Port Alice, the capital of Uganda, from Mummia's, Kavirondo, by water in two days, saving at least four days, or eight days for the return journey, and a total of thirty-two days be the time elapsing for letters to reach the capital of Uganda from the coast."*

But with the rise of the Imperial authority on the shores of Victoria Nyanza, a change came over the fortunes of the Company without whose action it is doubtful whether Uganda would not long before the autumn of 1893 have been grasped by the Germans. The Company had gone to Mengo, if not by request of Lord Salisbury's Government, at all events with its full acquiescence, and taken no steps there without the knowledge of the Imperial authorities; yet it had withdrawn, not by their desire, but to suit its own financial arrangements. Still, the Company's influence on the country had been for good. Instead of receiving, as the German Company had, directly or indirectly, £650,000, including £45,000 per annum as a subsidy for a German line of steamers to Zanzibar, the British Company never obtained a farthing

from the Imperial treasury. Its roads, telegraphs, steamers, town improvements, police force, explorations, and experimental caravans, were all paid for out of the capital subscribed by its shareholders.

Posts had been established, and an organisation for transport and government instituted without the Company having any power to levy taxes to defray the expenses of the purely political side of their operations. Machako's



LOCAL POLICE, MOMBASA.

(From Photographs taken for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

may be instanced as an average specimen of the results of the Company's rule in the territory between the coast and the lakes altogether outside of the limits of its original concession.

**Machako's:
a sample
station.**

Machako's is in the Ukambani region, about half-way between Kavirondo and the east coast (Vol. III., p. 162). It is, therefore, in the very centre of the Company's commercial activity, and of the area which is administered by its officials. Until recently, the trade prospects of that particular section of East Africa were not considered hopeful. But, according to Mr. Ainsworth,† not only are the people settling down to steady industry, but they are

* Owen, *Times* (London), August 2nd, 1894.

† Report, dated January 1st, 1894.

displaying a profitable taste for European manufactures. If this is the case at present, it is certain that as soon as a railway penetrates Ukambani a brisk traffic, with a corresponding increase of population, must speedily make this remote part an important settlement. At one time, before the Company built their station, it was simply a centre for the slave trade. Masai raids, with others by the Wakamba in retaliation, prevented anything like peaceful pursuits. Of late, these raids have almost ceased,* and the traffic in human beings with them, the only slavery now existing in Ukambani being the comparatively humane one of domestic serfdom. Unlike the inhabitants of some parts of West Africa, the Wakamba—the principal tribe in the country—are showing a pleasant appreciation of wages in return for a fair day's work. Their labour may not be worth much. But, on the other hand, it is not very highly assessed. Small boys can be hired for ten annas (about tenpence) and adults for a rupee and ten annas a week in trade goods, which means 50 per cent. less, while the labourers find their own food. The opinions of the people regarding the benefits they are deriving from the Company's rule are clearly enough expressed in the address of the elders of the villages around. "Our young men," they told Mr. Ainsworth, "have learned to work, our country is peaceable, the Masai do not raid us; our people live at peace with one another, our cattle can graze in security; all matters brought to the European for settlement receive a fair hearing. We are glad that you came. Our country is the Company's and ours, and half the food is theirs." And in proof that these sentiments were not from the lips outwards, they contributed twenty thousand pounds of flour to the station in the course of twelve months. As something like a million people live in Ukambani who are eager to barter their cattle, goats, and grain for goods, a profitable market is spring-

ing up and increasing. Sugar-cane and tobacco are also grown, and considerable quantities of honey are collected. But until freight to the coast is cheaper, it is scarcely likely that the business done can be of a very lucrative character—ivory, india-rubber, and the best-paying products being apparently absent from that part of Africa.

The sub-tropical climate is, however, well fitted for farming, being healthy, and, so far as temperature is concerned, more like Southern Europe than Central Africa. The Wakamba are an intelligent race. They weave good bags from aloe fibre, tan leather tastefully, and forge axes, adzes, arrow-heads, and swords out of native iron. Brass ornaments are made from imported metal, and, though their domestic and agricultural implements are simple, they are beautifully manufactured and very effective. Personally, Mr. Ainsworth has nothing to say against the Masai. He and they, as a rule, get on very well, and he finds them perfectly straightforward in their dealings. But it is undeniable that this race are "the Ishmaelites of East Central Africa," organised bands of robbers, whose hand is against every man, and against whom, in sheer defence, every man's hand must necessarily be. Yet even they seem to be learning that honesty is the best policy; and their experience of the opposite maxim is decidedly ample.

Major Owen is, indeed, firmly of belief that a disciplined caravan with thirty rifles is now quite safe in the once dreaded Masailand. But philanthropy *cum* profit did not form a congruous combination. After trying it, the Company found that they had lost so much money

The decline of the I.B.E.A. Company.

in exploiting the fabled wealth of inner Africa that they began to part with their territory even more rapidly than they had added kingdom to kingdom. Uganda gone, by September, 1893, all the territory between the Tana and Juba rivers had been surrendered for the same reason—namely, that it did not pay. The Company had attained the culmination of its paper greatness when

* In March, 1894, they raided and stole 150 cattle from one of the Ukambani districts, and attacked the fort, with the result that they were easily beaten off.

it advanced on Mengo. Its territorial decline now began, and, once begun, the directors did not stand on dignity. They even approached the Government on the question of surrendering their charter on being paid the expenses they had been put to* by performing the part which the nation ought to have done for itself. At first, about half the expenditure (10s. 6d. in the pound) was named, but, the Government lending a deaf ear, the offer was, after nearly twelve months, withdrawn on May 8th, 1894. Then £200,000, was mentioned as the Company's price for their plant and expenditure on the country to be actually under the Imperial protection, with an additional sum for the surrender of their privileges in the ten-mile strip which formed the beginning of its hold in East Africa.† These conditions met with,

* According to a note from Mr. George Mackenzie, the total expenditure of the Company in connection with the whole of the British sphere of influence, including all preliminary expenses, plant, and private property incidental to the undertaking, was £450,000, over a period of six years, or £75,000 per annum. The Imperial administration of Uganda alone is estimated at £100,000 per annum.—*Times*, August 4th, 1894.

† “The directors would suggest that, to promote and render easy a prompt settlement and to remove the paralysis of administration, with the attendant losses inflicted by the Government indecision during two years, the Company should, for its concession, telegraph line, railway material, piers, customs buildings with improvements, and coasting steamer *Juba*, receive £200,000; and concurrently for all its outlays in the interior or in treaty-making, exploring lands and rivers, mapping, securing Uganda and retaining it for two years, together with the interior supporting stations, including its unremunerated work in Witu, receive the additional sum of £100,000, plus moderate grants of the interior lands, bank concession, and so forth, which have cost Government nothing; or, if more agreeable to Government, concessions and land grants having an early prospective equivalent value. Private lands, buildings, and miscellaneous assets acquired by purchase would be retained by the Company, which would continue operations on purely commercial lines. Those figures or equivalents did not represent the Company's outlays, taking no account of interest; but the Company's efforts in the national interests had not only not been appreciated but had been depreciated in official quarters. The mere holding of Uganda for one year would have cost her Majesty's Government as much as the sum named for covering all the work done by the Company in the interior, which sum was evidence of the extreme moderation

the Company was willing to surrender its charter, and confine itself to mere trading operations, like any other body of merchants.‡ As yet (December, 1894) the Imperial Government have not come to terms, though in the end the result cannot be doubtful.§

It may, however, be admitted that if the Imperial Government have not behaved handsomely to the Company, the Company's directors have not comported themselves in so lordly a manner that now, in their decline—and it may be fall—any large amount of sympathy will go with them. Eager to assume Imperial functions so long as there appeared a prospect of this being done with profit, they displayed an almost callous contempt of what they claimed as “a leading motive” when their expectations were disappointed by immediately shuffling off the load they had so lightly assumed on the maxim of “heads I win, tails you lose.”

Witu was an example of this lightly-come, lightly-go treatment of the grave responsibilities of Empire. After much negotiation and some fighting, it passed from the German hands into those of the British East Africa Company. Then, in July, 1893, it

Witu surrendered to the Imperial authorities.

of this proposal.”—*Sir Arnold Kemball, at Meeting of the I.B.E.A. Company, August 22nd, 1894.*

‡ The July, 1894, report of the directors of the Company, with accounts brought down to December 31st, 1893, for Africa, and to April 30th, 1894, for London, states that the customs revenue in 1893 was Rupees 257,860, against Rupees 239,812 in 1892. Deducting the rent paid to the Sultan of Zanzibar, the surplus was Rupees 87,647, against Rupees 69,599. The returns for 1893 do not include duties on goods entering free under the transit clause of the Berlin Act, in respect of which the Company claims compensation from the Sultan.

§ Lord Brassey, the first Vice-Chairman of the Company, admits that “the Company has failed, and may be fairly called upon to suffer loss.” But he pleads that the shareholders were actuated not as a leading motive so much by the love of gain as by “the desire to help forward the work of civilisation in Africa.” This being the case, they ought, he thinks—and Sir Arnold Kemball regards this proposal entitled to favourable consideration—to have a 2 per cent. annuity on their lost capital guaranteed by the Imperial Government, though chargeable, in the first instance, on local revenues.—*Times*, August 7th, 1894, and August 22nd, 1894; Mackenzie, *Fortnightly Review*, Dec. 1894; Stanley, *Times*, Dec. 15, 1894.

was surrendered by the Company to the Imperial authorities, the administration having proved more honourable than lucrative. Fumo Omari (p. 214), who still claimed, in spite of all that had been said and done, to be Sultan of the mainland, was never reconciled to the Company's rule; and when Witu

Portal so graphically described the operation—this nest of robbers, after an engagement at Jongini which convinced the slave-dealers and other objectionable characters who had found a refuge there that they had new masters to reckon with.

After the Company declined to accept



IVORY TRADERS IN MASAI DRESS.

(From Photographs taken for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

was taken over by Mr. Rennell Rodd, temporary Consul-General at Zanzibar, acting on behalf of the British Government, this insolent potentate had again to be dealt with. The country had been completely disorganised by him, and, short of the destruction of his stronghold, which had become the headquarters of slave-trading and brigandage, no permanent peace could be expected. The Sultan refusing to listen to Mr. Rodd's proposals for his annihilation, the latter found it necessary to "mop-up"—as Sir Gerald

further responsibility, there was nothing for Lord Rosebery but to issue, on the 26th July, 1893, a proclamation acknowledging that "it fell to Her Majesty's Government to make further arrangements." But though the Company resigned a great part of the British Protectorate north of the Tana River, they did not include in the territory over which they no longer accepted the costly dignity of administration the coast from that river to Kipin including the important trade centre of Kis-

The Company dies hard.

mayu, and the islands of Lamu, Manda, and Patta. These tracts they meant to develop at their own expense, and they also intimated their intention of extending their rule inland as opportunities and means offered. These points are not the least important on the coast; and, as the Foreign Office found it necessary to remind the Company, to sit at "the gates of the Tana-Juba district" to levy customs on all trade passing through them, was simply to follow the traditional policy of the Arab and Portuguese rulers of this coast in earlier days, and of the Muscat and Zanzibar Seyeds who had succeeded them. For these unsatisfactory over-lords of East Africa were quite ready to permit the interior tribes to rob and murder each other unmolested, while they intercepted trade at the sea-ports "for the benefit of the middlemen settled in them."

The Company, as Sir Philip Currie had to remind it, was formed to carry out a very



MASAI WOMEN IN GALA DRESS.

(From a Photograph taken for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

different policy than one so anomalous and retrograde. But the Directors could only reply in substance that the shareholders were no longer able to afford to continue the unlimited exercise of philanthropy without philanthropy paying that percentage which is expected to be declared at the annual



ELMETAITA LAKE, MASAILAND.

(From a Sketch by Bishop Tucker.)

meeting of every commercial undertaking. This was undoubtedly true; yet it was a frank confession of failure which did not win a great deal of admiration from those who had at first been charmed by an effort to make the best of both worlds in East Africa.* Witu, however, took a good deal of "mopping-up"; for it was not until well in the summer of 1894 that General Matthews and the British naval forces completed the pacification of the country at the mouth of the Tana, though already there are rumours of the Somali on the Juba advancing into the Imperial Company's territory, which means more "mopping-up"—and so on *ad infinitum*, after the fashion which all history teaches is the programme when the iron pot and the earthen pot come into collision.

But, if men of long experience in Africa were but faintly sanguine of civilisation penetrating very rapidly into the regions in question, there was a dreamer in Vienna who, from the

The "Free-land" Community.

depths of his absolute ignorance of men and countries, was convinced that along the slopes of Mount Kenia white labourers might be settled in a community exempt from all the ills of the old world which they had left to itself. This was the Communistic Freeland Colony of Dr. Theodor Hertzka, which, in 1893-94 attracted many adherents from all parts of the world. But it never took shape; for the first contingent of zealots quarrelled before they set foot on the Land of Promise, and, having gone to Lamu, returned therefrom in August, 1894, disabused both of Africa and of the Freeland of an economist's theory.

* Parliamentary Paper, September, 1893.

Still, though the Imperial British East Africa Company did not succeed quite as well as had been expected, even when its vast services to the nation ^{Zanzibar under British protection.} and to civilisation are fully admitted, the Protectorate of Zanzibar became, in less than a year after the British Government was given a free hand, an almost model state; though, of course, an Arab government and a town, until recently the greatest slave-market in Africa, afford a splendid field for the reformer. But, from the standpoint of the politician who may be studying the advantages of British rule in Africa when untrammelled by commercial considerations, the last report which Sir Gerald Portal drew up, just before leaving on his fatal expedition to Uganda, forms a remarkable State paper. Until the year 1890, British influence in the Arab Sultan's dominions was simply that of the nation doing the greatest amount of business with his capital, and whose Political Agent had most



SIR GERALD PORTAL.
(From a Photograph by Heyman, Cairo.)

readily the ear of its ruler. This prevented any serious scandals from taking place—openly; and, thanks to the treaty which Sir Bartle Frere persuaded Seyed Bargash to sign, the old slave-market and the dhows full of black chattels from the mainland disappeared from Zanzibar years before Britain had the formal right to dictate her will to its sovereign. Yet there was not, until the agreement recognising the Protectorate was signed in October, 1891, any government that could be called organised. As in most unreformed Oriental despotisms, the Sultan was, like Louis Quatorze, "the Government," and the swarm of adventurers

from Muscat (Maskat) and the Hadramaut coast were the channels through which his revenue passed, and, it is unnecessary to add, to which a large amount of it clung *in transitu*. The Zanzibar Sultan had always been rich, and, though he made no pretence of keeping accounts, while anything which could be termed statistics was undreamt of, he could well afford to be robbed by his retainers. Duties were levied, not only on foreign goods, but upon all the merchandise from the mainland, as the only way of collecting taxes from the Arab ivory- and slave-traders who wandered through the dominions of the Sultan as far as Lake Tanganyika—which, though “discovered” by Burton, was well known to the caravan leaders long before he and Speke set forth to find it (Vol. II., p. 54). Every slave yielded two dollars a head to the Sultan, whose private chest was the sole Government Treasury. Ivory and gum also contributed to his revenue, and the clove-tax, and trade (in which the Sultan was largely engaged), made Seyed Bargash and his brothers—as it will make their successor*—wealthy, for petty African kings. Then came evil days for the Sultan, though good ones for all his subjects, except the “irregular soldiers” who battered on his bounty and subsisted by plundering his subjects in his name. The Germans had for long been of very small consequence in Zanzibar island or town, though the Hamburg merchants did, perhaps, after Britain, the largest amount of trade with the port. But little by little, in spite of Sir John Kirk and his successors in the Consulate-General acting as virtual Grand Viziers, the Germans pushed their way, until, by dint of a concession obtained from the Sultan, as we shall presently see, they administered the richest portion of his dominions, while the remainder on the mainland was leased to the English Company whose history has been traced in the preceding chapters. Actually, for the first time in the social history of the

Zanzibar Palace, there was a scarcity of money in the treasury, and a lack of things for the Muscatees to steal. A little later, and Seyed Ali bin Saïd would, with his Sultanate, have gone to the highest bidder.

Upon what the Germans would have done in these circumstances it is needless to speculate. They are honest men and just rulers. But they have had no experience of governing inferior races and, least of all, men of Oriental prejudices. “*Ils sont justes, mais pas aimables*,” and there is ample evidence that the importation into East Africa of the drill-sergeantry of Prussia, and the stiff, unbending bureaucracy of its capital, has not proved a marked success. Luckily, as already described (p. 210), Lord Salisbury struck a bargain with the young Emperor, and Britain became over-lord, not only of the island and town of Zanzibar, but of a vast stretch of what was Zanzibar country in name only. Sir Gerald Portal (p. 230), who, while at Cairo, had become familiar with the ways of the East, was selected to teach the Sultan a better way of controlling a kingdom than that which he and his fathers had been accustomed to follow since the Muscatees drove out the Portuguese. He began by raising a revenue that would profit the people as well as the palace. And he was just in time. For in a brief period the whole island would have arrived at the state of bankruptcy to which it was fast drifting. What money could be collected by the most onerous of imposts was scarcely sufficient for the wants of the Sultan—the Sultanate was hardly considered—and of the clamorous horde of hangers-on who lived on his bounty, or squeezed a livelihood out of the fears of his oppressed subjects. As an imperative preliminary, the Sultan was limited to that financial institution, unknown in the East—a Civil List. Like Mr. Mantalini, he was “allowanced” to a fixed salary, paid punctually *per mensem*. Accounts were ordered to be kept, and, in case the new ledgers might not be written up faithfully, these were to be at all times open to official inspection, and Englishmen, irremovable

* Seyed Hamid bin Thwain, who succeeded his uncle, Seyed Ali, on the 5th March, 1893, after a slight attempt at a palace revolution of the old sort.

except by the British Consul-General, were appointed to supervise every department of the State.

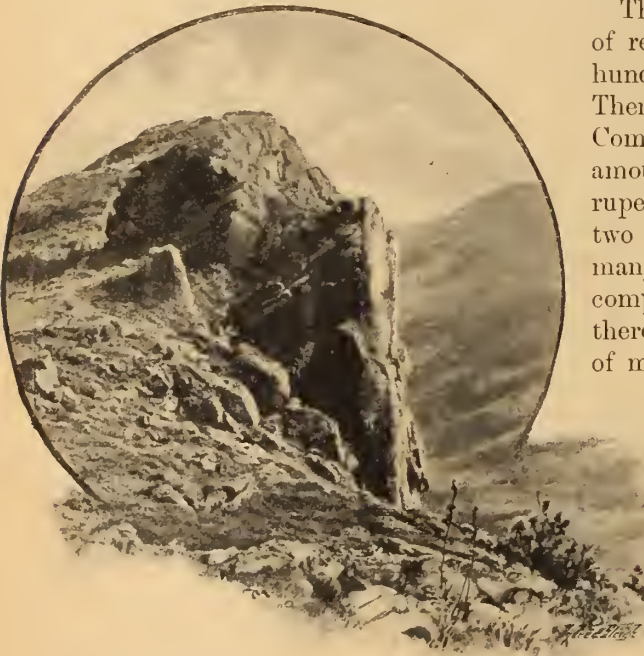
On the 1st of February, 1892, Zanzibar was made practically a free port. New taxes were decreed, but taxes that oppressed no industry; and, as something was given in return for them, they were more cheerfully paid than the old irregular exactions.* Nearly all customs were abolished on foreign goods, and a small charge was made for the use of a wharf. A hydrant and pipes to water ships were laid down, with the result that the Government

office, which prevents fraud and gets clear of backsheesh, brings in another thousand rupees, and by the limitation of the sale of alcoholic liquors to respectable people paying a high licence, another nine thousand rupees finds its way into the treasury. A trifling fee for declaring the nature of a cargo enriches the State by one thousand five hundred rupees a month. From five hundred to eight hundred rupees is the rent paid for storing goods in the Government warehouses, and, finally, a gun licence helps the Protectorate to pay its way without any honest man being one anna the worse.

The clove-tax is naturally the chief source of revenue, for it brings in more than four hundred and fifty thousand rupees a year. Then comes the British Imperial East Africa Company's rent for the territory it administers, amounting to nearly two hundred thousand rupees; and finally, the dividends from the two hundred thousand pounds paid by Germany for her share of the Zanzibar mainland complete the island income. In this way there is a surplus of revenue over expenditure of more than thirteen thousand five hundred

rupees, without the new taxes hurting anyone, a claim which could not be made on behalf of the majority of the imposts that they displaced; and the slight deficit in the old estimated revenue, as roughly calculated, is met by a reduction of extravagant expenditure. At the same time, public works have been paid for out of income, and will return good interest in all future years. The "irregular

soldiers" have been promptly disestablished (and disendowed), and their extremely irregular pay devoted to improving the excellent little force so long under the command of General Matthews—a former English naval officer (p. 208), who is now, happily for Zanzibar, the Sultan's Prime Minister. The streets are cleaned, the roads have been macadamised, and a new gaol has been built, although the number of criminals is diminishing. The only



EDGE OF CRATER, MOUNT ELGON.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)

earned thirteen hundred rupees a month from this improvement.† A registration

* Spirits, arms, powder, and mineral oils are still subject to special regulations. The Imperial British East Africa Company complain that much of the customs collected on the mainland goes to the support of the Zanzibar Protectorate instead of to defray the cost of governing the territory that pays them.

† The Maria Theresa dollar, valued at 2 rupees 2 annas (nominally 4s. 2d.), is the unit of the Zanzibar coinage; but the British India rupee, worth 47 cents, is in universal currency.



ROMANIE SLAVE VILLAGE.

(From a Photograph taken by Mr. Fitzgerald for the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

persons dissatisfied are the native rowdies and the old slave-traders. They, and they alone, object to the new broom that has swept so cleanly, and it was they who tried, on the death of Seyed Ali, to create a futile riot. Even the Sultan is not displeased. For if the *roi fainéant* "absorbs unremuneratively," as the actual sovereign—namely, the British Consul-General—remarks, only half the revenue, he is paid regularly, and manages to get the full benefit of his four hundred and eighty-four thousand rupees *per annum*. Property is secure, and since the spring of 1893 all cases in which British subjects are concerned have been transferred to the Consular Court. Of the £1,185,000 worth of imports, India and Great Britain now send the greatest amount; petroleum and cotton goods, however, still come in large quantities from America, "merikani" sheeting continuing to be a favourite currency in the interior (Vol. II., p. 56). The exports, consisting of cloves, ivory, copra, india-rubber,

gum-copal, and other articles, are still under the value of a million. Yet, though Britain absorbs most of the trade, the number of ships credited to Germany is greater—as many of the small local coasters are under that flag; and the native dhows, which go as far as Bombay, Arabia, the Comoro Islands, and Madagascar, are included in the statistics from which these landmarks in the progress of Zanzibar are noted.*

Zanzibar—as well as the mainland—is in a transition stage, and it will take time to show whether the new wine will not burst the old bottles. Sugar, for instance, is no longer the crop it was on Zanzibar island. Since the days of Seyed Bargash, there has been a great falling-off in this as in most other

* Foreign Office Reports: Miscellaneous Series, 1892, No. 266, by Mr. Fitzgerald—a valuable summary of the vegetable resources, etc., of Zanzibar, the Pemba Islands; Report on Trade of Zanzibar—Foreign Office Annual Series, 1893; Schmidt: "Sansibar" (1888), etc.

industries. "Things in Zanzibar," Mr. Fitzgerald tells us, "are no longer what they were; the Arab no longer cultivates as of yore; slavery, his sole means of cultivation, is doomed, and much land was pointed out to me as at one time under sugar-cane, but now completely reverted back to bush"—the plantation entirely overgrown, and the mills and machinery fallen into ruin and decay.

But here our narrative must close. For, if the rise and culmination of the splendid experiment in the exploitation of East Africa, embodied in the Company's operations whose fortunes we have traced, are past, and its decline is in progress, the fall has still to come. And neither for the credit of private enterprise nor of public honour is it desirable that thus should end its chequered annals.



IN THE MAU FOREST.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Ernest Gedge.)

CHAPTER XIV.

BEYOND THE LIMPOPO: THE TALE OF TWO COMPANIES AND A KINGDOM.

Annexation in the Air—Mashona- and Matabele-lands—Lobengula and the Concession-hunters—The Moffat Treaty—The Portuguese and the Dutch—Mr. Rhodes Appears upon the Scene—The Rudd Concession—The Amalgamation of Companies and Syndicates—An Empire Signed Away—Lobengula's Interpretation of the Grant—The Chartered British South Africa Company—Portugal Becomes Aggressive—Mashonaland "Effectively Occupied"—The Pioneer Expedition—Manikaland—Colonel Paiva d'Andrade—Treaties Rejected and Portugal Warlike—Umtasa and Gungunhana of Gazaland—The Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 1891—Mashonaland under the Chartered Company—Nyassaland—The British Title-deeds to it—The African Lakes Company—Its Work—The Arab War—The Portuguese Claims—Ceded to Britain—The "British Central Africa Protectorate"—Mr. Johnston Appointed Commissioner—His Work—The Chartered Company beyond the Zambesi—Lobengula and his Indunas Become Obstreperous—Matabeleland Entered with an Armed Force—Lobengula Evacuates Buluwayo—It is Occupied by the Company's Troops—The Pursuit and Death of Lobengula—Matabeleland occupied.

IN those days—about the period when the Sultan of Zanzibar was in course of being alternately bullied and jockeyed out of his territory—there was annexation in the air. The most exaggerated notions were afloat regarding the riches of the Black Continent. Like Pistol, all Europe sang "of Africa and golden joys," and scarcely a mail arrived without rumours either of further absorptions or of suspicions of a design of that character. South Africa, it is true, had by this time pretty well settled down to its future, and Germany had agreed to make no further efforts to fly its flag over the country south of Delagoa Bay (pp. 173-4). Yet, with the loose morality too fully exemplified in Damaraland and elsewhere (pp. 166-75), it was not certain this compact might not be impugned; more especially as German traders were sending home glowing accounts of the lands immediately south of the Zambesi, a river which England had, even then, plainly intimated must be regarded as the northern frontier of her sphere of operations in South Africa. But, if Germany displayed no special activity, Portugal and the Boers gave cause for alarm. The one claimed the Zambesi, and the other had been ousted from Bechuanaland: and both were trekking into a region just north of it, though with the ruler of that kingdom the British had for long had intimate relations.

This was Mashonaland and Matabeleland, two vast tracts which recognised the sway of Lobengula, the son of that Moselikatse who had, by aid of his Zulu warriors, reduced the feeble tribes inhabiting the former to a condition of absolute servitude. For many years this country had been overrun by prospectors and concession-hunters, out of whose gifts and bribes Lobengula passed life in one long paradise of fried liver and cheap champagne. The explorations of Mauch (p. 236), Baines (p. 236), and others had, as we have seen, attracted widespread attention to its supposed auriferous riches, while the reports of every new traveller lauded the fine soil, the comparative coolness, the hundreds of streams, and the splendid pastoral facilities of the country stretching in all directions from the Tati gold-mines (p. 154). The sportsmen (Vol. III., pp. 198, 215) praised the game and the scenery, and the Boers, accustomed to the dry, uninviting veldt of the regions farther south, were in ecstasies over the rich vegetation of the temperate, well-watered, fever-free, almost unpopulated plateau rising out of the subtropical region north of the Limpopo River.

But it was the gold, or the supposed gold, of this land that most frequently formed the theme of the highly-coloured pictures that were painted of Lobengula's land not only in

Mashona-
and Matabele-lands.

Cape Town, where there were plenty of men who (had they cared) could have told the truth, but in London, which was not in quite the same position for estimating at their real value the baits laid in many a prospectus issued by concession-holders or companies which proposed to work the riches affirmed to lie in every rock and stream and gully in a region claimed to be the veritable Ophir of King Solomon.* A country so thick with speculators of every type could not remain peaceful under a savage king. Anarchy was certain before long, unless, indeed, it was annexed by some civilised people. Portugal claimed much of it by dint of those ancient proclamations which, if good in the absence of effective occupation, would give her the title-deeds of a third of the continent. But for the present His Very Faithful Majesty preserved a

Portuguese
claims and
Dutch
"treks."

passive attitude. The Boers were less inclined to wait for what might turn up, and in 1888 were so threatening that, to guard himself against his old enemies from the Transvaal side, Lobengula was glad to sign a treaty



CARL MAUCH.

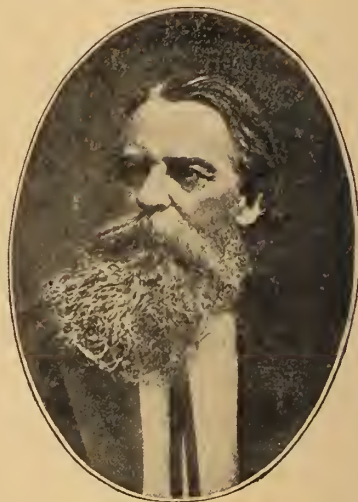
(From a Photograph by Heinr. Graf, Berlin.)

recognising British supremacy over all of his territories, so far that he bound himself not to cede, sell, or alienate any of it, to any foreign

* Sawyer: "Gold-fields of Mashonaland" (1893).

State or Power, without the knowledge or sanction of Her Majesty's High Commissioner in South Africa.

This step had not been taken an hour too



THOMAS BAINES.

soon; for, even after the treaty had been signed, Boers were trekking into the country, and to the last there were Zuluised white men at Lobengula's squalid kraal in Buluwayo, industriously poisoning the mind of the suspicious king regarding his new suzerain and British designs generally. The concession-seekers were also not without blame, each fresh agent flattering the vanity of the wily savage in the hope of making him believe that he and his principals were the only honest men in all Mashona- and Matabelelands. The result was that, through the Moffat Treaty just referred to,† the Queen came into the suzerainty of a part of Africa swarming with adventurers of various degrees of private virtue and political loyalty.

At this time there came upon the scene Mr. Cecil Rhodes (p. 140), who, as Deputy-Commissioner of Bechuanaland, had become familiar with the state of affairs in the new Protectorate

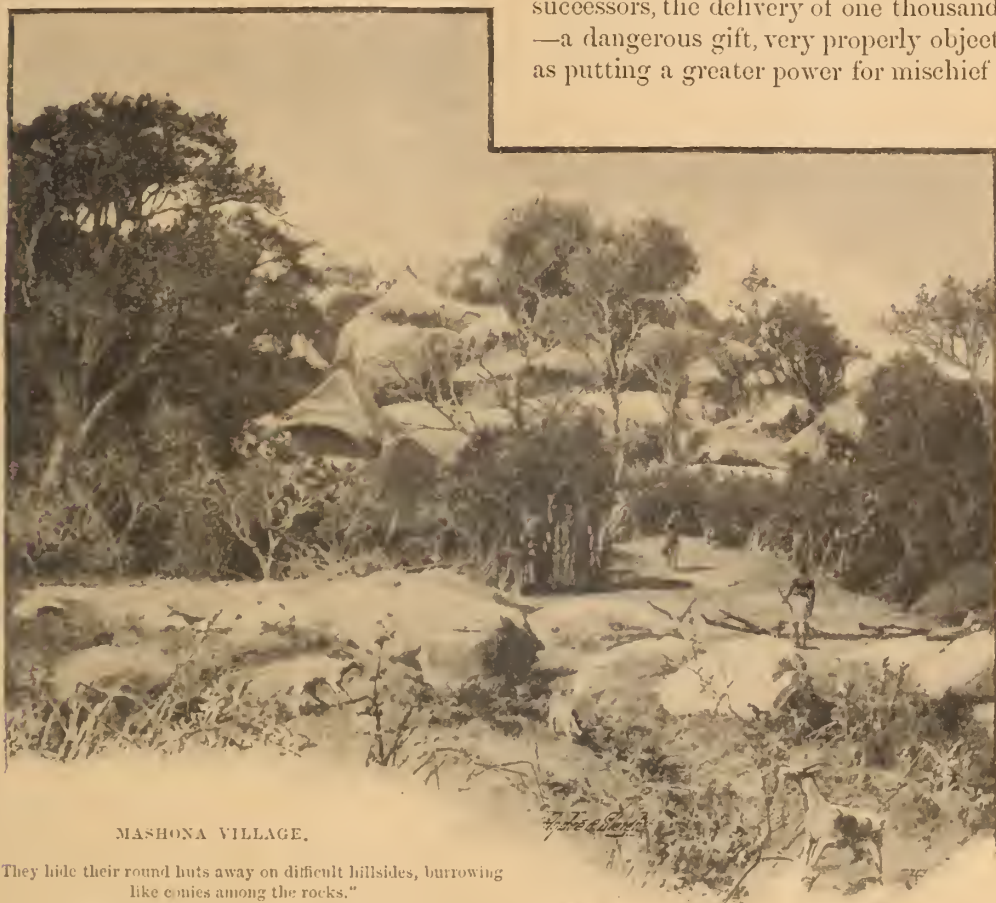
Concession-
hunters: the
Rudd Grant.

† Signed 11th February, 1888. So called because the Rev. J. S. Moffat, Assistant-Commissioner in Bechuanaland, was chiefly concerned in negotiating it.

or suffragan kingdom; and, as the leading spirit in the diamond industry of South Africa, had acquired an abiding belief in the merits of amalgamation. Imbued with this faith, he obtained from Lobengula what is known

transaction which led to very important episodes in the history of South Africa.

This famous document was in itself an apparently inoffensive compact; for it stipulated that, in consideration of the monthly payment of £100 to himself, his heirs and successors, the delivery of one thousand rifles—a dangerous gift, very properly objected to, as putting a greater power for mischief in the



MASHONA VILLAGE.

"They hide their round huts away on difficult hillsides, burrowing like conies among the rocks."

(From a Photograph by Mr. A. E. Maund.)

as the Rudd Concession,* so named from the chief agent concerned in negotiating a

* Signed on October 30th, 1888, by Lobengula ("His mark"), C. D. Rudd, Rochfort Maguire, M.P., and F. R. Thompson. This concession was made, in name at least, to the "Gold-fields of South Africa" and a syndicate, of which Mr. Rhodes, Mr. Rudd, and Mr. Alfred Beit were the chief representatives. Mr. Maund, acting on behalf of Mr. Cawston and the Exploring Company, arrived a few days too late, but he claimed that Lobengula had granted to him personally various rights which he had made over to the company. These concessions were eventually acquired by Mr. Rhodes's syndicate.

hands of a savage—and the placing of a gun-boat on the Zambesi, with artillery suitable for defensive purposes, certain privileges were to be granted to the concessionnaires, or their heirs, representatives, or assigns. The chief of these were "the complete and exclusive charge over all metals and minerals situated" in the kingdom, and the granting of all powers necessary to enjoy this elastic privilege. And, above all, Lobengula, on the plea that he had been much "molested of

late by divers persons seeking and desiring to obtain grants and concessions of land and mining rights" in his territories, authorised the grantees of the Rudd Concession to exclude from the country all persons seeking land, metals, minerals, or mining rights therein, except in so far as affected the mining rights granted to the persons concerned (Sir John Swinburne and others) in the Tati territory south of the Ramakoban River.

This treaty, Lobengula always declared, had a meaning attached to it which he never intended, and for a time the Imperial Government seemed to have taken the same view. For, until the Colonial Office was approached from very influential quarters, they warned Lobengula not to grant any hasty concessions of land. It is certain that the letter of treaty gave the concessionnaires the right to not one rood of land, except as mines and the site of mining buildings—certainly not as farms—though whether the king was correct in saying that he intended it simply to authorise them to "dig for gold" is a point not so readily admitted.

At all events, whatever might have been the Matabele chief's notion when he "signed" the concession, his protests were of no avail. For it was duly confirmed by the Home Government, and the privileges granted by it were promptly made use of by the masterful man on whose behalf Mr. Rudd and his colleagues had been acting, being the concession "later on extended by the acquisition of rights as to the disposal of vacant lands, with due regard to native tenures."*

In spite, however, of Lobengula's sweeping assertion about having been annoyed by other concession-hunters, a great many of these once-welcome individuals were in the country and by no means inclined to have their rights so readily disposed of either by the king or by Mr. Rhodes. Then the "Great Amalgamator" began to

exercise his genius for fusing rival interests into a single powerful association, which on the 29th of October, 1889, received a Royal Charter under the name of the "British South Africa Company." At the head of this organisation was the Duke of Abercorn, and among the directors were the Duke of Fife, Lord Gifford, Mr. Albert Grey (now Earl Grey), and Mr. George Cawston, though the ruling spirits were really Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Beit, who had been the principal agents in the amalgamation of the various diamond interests of Cape Colony. Their capacity for effecting fusion was now and subsequently utilised to the same end with the different companies, concession-holders, exploration syndicates, and other people who either held or affected to hold claims in the country. It would have been wiser had Downing Street not shirked the responsibilities of Empire. However, the Imperial Government had seen fit to put a Kingdom under the government of a mercantile concern the leaders of which, though no doubt influenced by lofty views regarding the expansion of the British Empire in Africa, were naturally no more inimical to the declaration of a good dividend than any board of directors must be who have once a year to face a roomful of shareholders imbued with a less flamboyant patriotism.

It is beyond the scope of these pages to trace the endlessly complicated and often disputed negotiations which followed. Still less is it profitable to unravel the intricate financial transactions by which the individual capitals of a host of minor companies got merged in the united one of a single great corporation. In examining the facts regarding this least attractive section of the Story of Africa, we find a Central Search Company, afterwards appearing as a United Concessions Company, making over its rights under an agreement which gave the shareholders in that concern an all but preponderating influence in the affairs of the one which had acquired their capital—placed nominally at three millions of pounds, but in reality worth

The Chartered British South Africa Company.

* Colquhoun : "Matabeleland," etc. (1893), p. 77. Mr. Archibald Colquhoun, already eminent as a geographical explorer in Indo-China, and as an official in Burma, was the first administrator of the "Rhodesia" country.

a great deal less. The Gold-fields of South Africa Company, the Exploring Company, the Bechuanaland Company, the Austral Company, and so forth, appear and disappear, and the names of Rhodes, Rudd, Cawston, Maund, and others, seem those which occur most frequently in the "deals" by which they were transferred, one after another, into the capacious maw of this British South Africa Company, best known as the "Charterers."

These financial operations—the nature of which it would take too long to explain,*

whom it absorbed guaranteed £700,000. At first the Chartered Company affected only to administer the country, or to work the concessions on behalf of the concessionnaires, in return for fifty per cent. of the profits; it did not even pretend to be an actual consolidation of the different companies. And, unlike the Niger and East Africa Companies, it has never aimed at conducting commercial operations on its own behalf further than what consists in selling land, mining rights, and so forth. In short, it was, ostensibly, the uniting



THE BUILDING OF FORT SALISBURY : THE FIRST BRICK HOUSE.

(From a Photograph by Mr. A. E. Maund.)

even where the facts of the case have been permitted to transpire—completed, the new lords of Mashonaland had now no open rivals. They had bought up or squeezed out every concessionnaire, from the owners of the grants made in former days to Baines and Mauch to the latest half-ceded permission exacted by the usual persuasives from Lobengula. And now they had to make the most of their wilderness of territory. The new Company had, indeed, little except its charter to bring into the new concern. Its capital was one million, but of this the various concessionnaires

link between a number of companies, and, itself the result of a concession, the granter of concessions to others.

After the British showed themselves quite in earnest, the Boers, who had all along been secretly encouraged from Pretoria in their designs against the country now under the South Africa Company's control, ceased to be aggressive. But the Portuguese proved less easy to deal with. Portugal, it is true, did not affect to have any claims on the territory occupied by the Matabeles: but she maintained that the Mashonas, Makalakas, and other conquered tribes under Lobengula's rule occupied a region which it was evident, by various ruins and orange groves, had at one time been part of the province of Sofala. Lord Salisbury, however,

Portugal
aggressive.

* In the *Daily Chronicle* (London), Oct. 30 and 31, 1893, are two articles professing to give, but from an avowedly unfriendly aspect, a full digest of the circumstances in which the British South Africa Company rose, and the "deals" by which it was capitalised. This theme is, however, extraneous to our narrative.

took a firm stand, on the ground that Mashonaland, being subject to Lobengula, was included in his concession to the newly-chartered Company and contained also within the bounds specified in the Moffat treaty which had preceded it; though, as the exact limits of Lobengula's realm were still unsettled, the British Government were ready to receive information on that question.

The Portuguese statements were, moreover, so impossible of reconciliation with facts that there was nothing for it but to make treaties with the independent chiefs east of Lobengula's territory, and finally to cut the knot by taking peaceful possession of the region claimed by the British South Africa Company. Foiled in their attempts to establish

Colonel Serpa Pinto (Vol. III. p. 3), as we shall presently see, consoled the wounded pride of the Portuguese, and at the same time damaged his reputation won as an explorer, by attacking and massacring a number of natives living on the Shiré River farther north under British protection. And in other directions his countrymen acted more like guerillas than diplomats.

How far matters might have gone had Mr. Rhodes been less a man of action it is hard to say. But happily for the occupation of Mashonaland he determined, early in 1890, to send an armed force of seven hundred men, composed of English and South African volunteers and mounted police under

Mashonaland is "effectively occupied." The pioneer expedition.



RAISING THE BRITISH FLAG AT MOUNT HAMPDEN, SEPTEMBER 12, 1890.

a claim on a country which they had never, until the British showed an intention of developing it, even made a pretence of occupying,

Colonel Pennefather, to establish British authority right in the heart of the disputed country. Well provided with mountain and

machine guns, the electric light, and other modern appliances, the force was guided by Mr. Selous (Vol. III., p. 219), who constructed roads (Vol. III., p. 217) through the bush

expedition at one of the many critical points on the way; while the Boers in the south, and the Portuguese from the east and north-east, if more diplomatic than the savages



THE OUTER WALL, ZIMBABWE RUINS.

(From a Photograph by Mr. A. E. Mound.)

and in other ways acted as leader of the pioneers in a region with which his hunting expeditions had familiarised him.

Yet, well-ordered and well-accounted as it was, this remarkable expedition was frequently in peril. Lobengula's contention that he had not granted more than mining rights was encouraged by a knot of Zuluised renegade whites—fit fellows for the "squawmen" of Western America—who had made their home at his kraal, and, it is believed, by the agents of other concession-hunters, who saw their fortune in the misfortunes of the Charterers. It is now known that, though Lobengula was not friendly to the pioneers, he forbore from attacking them. But it was with difficulty that he succeeded in preventing his less prudent "indunas," eager to "wash" their assegaïs, from endeavouring to surprise the

threatening it from the west, were all along scarcely less unfriendly.

Yet, from the day the pioneer force left the Macloustic River (June 25th, 1890) to the time it reached Mount Hampden (p. 240), after a ten weeks' march of 450 miles through bush and across rivers difficult to cross, not a shot was fired or a life lost. Four forts were established *en route*, and fords across rivers and corduroy bridges made, until, on the 12th September, 1890, the site of the present town of Salisbury (p. 239) was reached and the rude capital of Mashonaland begun. And in beginning a new era, the "planters" did not forget the old, for the Zimbabwe Ruins (pp. 241, 244) were protected. Such a splendid specimen of British enterprise covered many a dubious transaction which preceded it. And, above all, the pioneer

expedition of 1890 will ever redound to the credit of Mr. Selous who guided it, Mr. Frank Johnson who organised it, and Colonel Pennefather of the Inniskilling Dragoons, who was primarily responsible for the command of this roughly-disciplined, but perfectly efficient, force hastily formed out of the heterogeneous materials always ready in a colony where there are adventures to be expected, fighting to be reckoned on, land-loot promised, and pay to be got.

But scarcely had the pioneers arrived at Salisbury than their jubilations sent back **Manikaland.** an echo of Portuguese protest. Indeed, the claims which we have already spoken of were made the excuse for an attempt on the part of Colonel Paiva d'Andrade to make—but too late—something like an effective occupation of the disputed country by advancing with Lieutenant Cordon into the valleys of the Mazoe and other Zambesi tributaries. Here the customary farce of distributing flags to the natives was gone through, while a new district—that of Zumbo (pp. 27, 29)—was established south of the Zambesi. This comprised some 30,000 square miles of the country claimed by Lobengula, and, indirectly, through him formed, nominally at least, portion of the British Protectorate. Part of the country was the Manika plateau. This region, it is only fair to say, Colonel d'Andrade had, as early as 1878, made some efforts to develop by obtaining a concession, the main object of which was mining the gold known to exist all over that region. This grant he made over to the Société Générale de Zambesie, a French Company, which, however, did not consider its prospects sufficiently encouraging to render any prolonged efforts advisable. The Companhia Africana and the Ophir Company—two London ventures—were scarcely more successful until, in 1888, their rights were made over to the Mozambique Company, which, except in so far as it was not entrusted with administrative powers, is, in many respects, a prototype of the British South Africa "Charterers," and, indeed,

has embarked in it a great deal of English money.

Had the Lisbon authorities as energetically supported Colonel d'Andrade as England backed up her rivals, Manika might have proved an even more serious bone of contention than it did. But Portugal, though she had for years been carrying on intermittent warfare in that region with the help of Manuel da Souza (Gouveia), a half-caste prazo-holder (pp. 11, 33), and latterly had been making a show of establishing steamers and customs houses on the Pungwe River, their jealousy of private enterprise prevented the officials from moving actively in the matter.

Nor did the natives give him much assistance. Umzila, the old chief, had an abiding hatred of white men and their ways, while the drunken Gungunhana (Gungunyama), who succeeded him, valued every treaty in an exact ratio to the amount of ruin that preceded its negotiation and followed its signature.

However, while the pioneer expedition was on its way to Mashonaland, Lord Salisbury, to prevent trouble, concluded a convention on August 20th, by which the eastern limits of the British Company's territory were defined by the course of the Sabi from north to south. But the Lisbon mob, with whom ignorance usually stands in the place of patriotism, would have none of it; and the Cortes, with the seditious yells of the rabble entering through the open windows of St. Bento Monastery, refused to ratify the convention, though it served as a *modus vivendi* until something more acceptable could replace it. Meanwhile, the pioneer force, now converted into Mashonaland burgers, and the colonists who followed in their train, did not wait on the decisions of laggard diplomacy. Swarming into the Manika plateau, they struck a bargain for it with Umtasa, the immediate chief of the region, so that when Lord Salisbury arranged a provisional agreement on the basis of the *status quo*, the "filibustering Britons" were more than sixty miles farther east than when the indignant Portuguese threw Lord Salisbury's convention out of the Cortes.

War then looked parlously near, and never seemed so imminent as when the British, arresting the Portuguese officers intriguing with Umtasa, sent them and their native followers neck and crop out of the country. Umtasa was, however, only a suffragan chief who owned the overlordship of Gungunhana of Gazaland (p. 31), and, in his way, a person of some consequence, even when drunk, from the fact of his being the brother-in-law of Lobengula, and able to call on 20,000 warriors.* The new friend, however, proved no better than the old one—for Gungunhana repudiated any man's "protection," and intimated his intention of sending an embassy to "the Great White Queen" to invoke her influence against the new allies who would fain force themselves upon him under the plea of an assumed treaty which somebody had signed in his name.

Failing to persuade the black king of Gazaland that the Lisbon "Codlin" was his friend, and not the London "Short," the Portuguese next tried what awkwardness could accomplish. The Manika pioneers having discovered that the quickest and easiest route to that plateau was by the Pungwe River, their opponents immediately tried to block up a water-way which, in all the ages they had affected to hold the country through which it flowed, they had neither known nor utilised. Then the officers of His Very Faithful Majesty smiled; and when the deluge of rain, during the winter of 1890-91 made the old route from the Cape so impassable that Zambesia was in peril of famine, if the supplies were to be taken by the slow-moving waggons over that weary succession of corduroyed swamp, they rejoiced to think that Providence and the elements were warring in their favour. For a time it seemed almost as if the Lusitanians had calculated correctly: for, sitting at the entrance of the Pungwe, their native

mercenaries seized British boats and stores, imprisoned the men in charge of them, and even fired at the British flag, which had hitherto not been subjected to any such indignity in that part of the world.

However, Providence, for once, was not on the side of the largest, but on the side of the most determined, battalion.

And that, it is needless saying, was the one inspired by Mr. Rhodes. In no mood for turning their cheeks to the smiters, the pioneers retaliated in kind, until on the 11th of May there was a sharp brush, in which the Portuguese had not the best of it. This aroused the Cape to fever-heat, and it is possible that, had not the Imperial Government interfered, the colonists might have tried by themselves to drive the Portuguese out of the country in which they were mere cumberers of the soil. Happily, however, the Cortes had a transient return of reason, and on the 11th of June, 1891, accepted the Anglo-Portuguese Convention (of May 28th), which, if it did not give the claimants of Manikaland all they wished, left them more than they ever occupied, and brought more British money into the Portuguese colonies than ever there had been coin of any other nationality (p. 28). And, as a set-off for the loss of what she never really possessed, Portugal got fifty thousand square miles north of the Zambesi; though treaty gave Great Britain the first offer of the territory south of that river in case the owners might at any time wish to dispose of it. The position of Portugal in Africa is "peculiar and, in a sense, pathetic." In South-East Africa there is rottenness and decay, in Europe a bankrupt treasury. Yet she feeds an inflammable patriotism by telling over and over again, like so many beads, the names of the dim illustrious past—Diaz, Da Gama, and the "Empire of Monomotapa."† Their territorial

The Anglo-Portuguese Convention of 1891.

* Doyle, "A Journey through Gazaland" (*Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1891, p. 588, with map). This journey was made by Messrs. Doyle and Moodie, and Dr. Jameson, who succeeded Mr. Colquhoun as administrator of the British South Africa Company's territories (p. 256).

† This oft-mentioned "empire" was not really a principality. "Benomotapa," or "Monomotapa," was an emperor whose state comprised much of the Mashonaland country, including Sofala, between the Zambesi and Delagoa Bay, and a long way inland.—Kearney, in Murray's "South Africa," pp. 18, 19.

claims baffle diplomacy, for they stand upon romance. "Against an exploration, they set an epic: they will quote Camoens to dispose of a concession from a native chief." Lord Salisbury's Convention was, indeed, generous to the Portuguese. It respected, "not indeed their romances, but their understandings with natives and with ourselves, however moss-



THE ROUND TOWER, ZIMBABWE RUINS.

(From a Photograph by Mr. A. E. Maud.)

mile of mining claims was taken up, though often as much to form the basis of a company as to work. Farms, also, were given to the pioneers, and others were occupied by later comers, the Company having satisfied themselves that, if their treaty with Lobengula did not entitle them to sell land absolutely, it permitted them to grant titles good against any other white claimant. At a later date "when," to use the language of the first administrator of Mashonaland, "it was ascertained that Lobengula had parted with his rights in the land to the representatives of a group which had long taken a part in Matabeleland affairs, the Company acquired the right so granted, which, along with the previous rights of the Company under the Rudd Concession, and the ratification of these grants by the British Government, invested the Company with full power to deal with the land throughout Lobengula's dominions, subject, of course, to a full recognition of and respect for native tenures."

It is possible that an "honest broker" in Chancery Lane might eye rather unfavourably title-deeds acquired in this way. But if abstract morality and the Aborigines' Protection Society looked askance at such transactions with an unlettered savage, they satisfied the Company, and the Company's counsel, and the British Government, and, indeed, all concerned—except, perhaps, the black folk to whom the land originally belonged. And as, by-and-by, the Company managed to dispose of the only other person who could effectively dispute this convenient reading of their charter, there was no necessity for reversing this decision of the strongest.

At all events, the country prospered under its new masters. Roads were made and railways laid out. The line from Kimberley to Vryburg in Bechuanaland was continued, until in time it will reach the Company's territories, and the telegraph completed through the heart of the country, with the prospect of some day stretching through the entire length

grown: their occupations, even where these are as shadowy as at Messi-Kassi."*

The first winter in Mashonaland was a hard one for the pioneers. Food was scarce, and fever plentiful, and, indeed, had it not been for the game shot, and the supplies obtained from Tete, it might have gone even worse with the handful of settlers in the new territory. However, with better weather, things began to mend. The ground-plans of primitive little towns were laid down around the forts, and mile after

Mashonaland
under "the
Charterers."

* "In Afrikanderland," p. 65.



VIEW FROM MANDALA GATE, NYASSALAND: DIRANDI AND BLANTYRE IN MID-DISTANCE.
(From a Photograph by Mr. Fred Moor)

of Africa, until it connects with those of the Nile Valley, when the Soudan is again open to civilisation. At the same time, the Beira Railway, starting from Beira, at the mouth of the Pungwe River, and connecting with Salisbury, conduces greatly to the development of the country, by lessening the difficulty of access and the cost of freight on mining tools and other stores. A newspaper was speedily established in a very crude shape, the advertisement columns of which bore evidence at an early date of the enterprise of the burgers. Even Lobengula, in spite of the jealousy with which he regarded the operations of the Company, and its subsidiary concessionnaires, was so convinced of the improved prospects of Mashonaland under its new *régime*, that he despatched an agent to take up mining claims on his behalf. Lastly, the natives, who got employment—for which their hearts did not always hunger—and the protection which they did appreciate, had every reason to welcome the coming of the “Charterers.”

Unfortunately, Lobengula and his chiefs interpreted their rights over the Mashona tribes differently from what their suzerains did, with a result which had a woeful ending for the king and all that was his.

NYASSALAND.

But, before touching upon the latest episode in the brief history of the British South

Africa Company, it is necessary to narrate a more agreeable interlude in the chequered annals of Central Africa. This is the acquisition of Nyassaland, or, as it is now called,

with a fine official genius for inventing a name which may mean anything or nothing, the “British Central Africa Protectorate.” As the first given and still more familiar title infers, this “Protectorate”—which is a Protectorate in name only—is the country around Lake Nyassa not claimed by Germany and down the Shiré Valley until the boundaries of the Portuguese on the Lower Zambesi are reached. Lake Nyassa, as the reader is already aware,

was, if not actually discovered by Livingstone (Vol. II., p. 239), made part of the world's geographical knowledge after that famous explorer reached it. It was British travellers also who first explored it, and it is undeniable that the Scottish missionaries (Vol. III., p. 131) introduced civilisation into that savage region. Scottish merchants have also the credit of being the first to develop the resources of Nyassaland, the African Lakes Company having, in 1870, estab-

**The African
Lakes Com-
pany.**

lished posts on the lake and on the route to that sheet. Though the main object of this Glasgow association—originally formed as “The Livingstone Central Africa Company”—was to engage in legitimate trade, it was also founded with the object of helping the missions by facilitating communication between the different stations, and conveying the stores required by them. And though the natives of the Nyassa country always did, and still, manage to get drunk on native intoxicants, the Scottish traders resolved from the first to exclude spirits as an article of barter; and it would have been better had they put gunpowder also under a like ban. Portugal, the half-caste traders of which had never used the lake or the valley of the river flowing out of it for any other purpose than slave-trading, soon practised on the Glasgow Company their customary dog-in-the-manger policy by hampering them with customs dues and various other ill-conditioned formalities. However, in spite of these harassments, the new-comers had speedily a chain of stations and agents between the sea and the lake, and steamers on the Zambesi, Shiré, and Nyassa. A road was made over the Shiré Highlands, from Katanga, where, a little above that point, the Murchison Rapids block the course of the river, to Matopé, sixty miles farther on (Vol. III., p. 133), where the stream is again navigable. Midway between these two points Mandala, the chief station of the Company, was built. Here, owing to the comparative elevation of the country, the climate is healthy and invigorating. Roses and other English flowers bloom profusely,

and all kinds of European vegetables flourish; while the rosy cheeks of the manager's family bore—and, happily, bear still—ample testimony to the possible virtues of an African climate.* The same tribute may be paid to the mission station of Blantyre (Vol. III., pp. 134, 137), "with its trim gardens, and general air of peace and plenty," which is situated only a mile distant and, we may add, is fast becoming the capital of a Protectorate which forty or fewer years ago was unknown to geographers.

Little by little, the "A.L.C." extended its operations until it did business with Tanganyika, where there was a London Missionary Society station at Niankolo (Vol. II., p. 237), at the end of the Stevenson Road, and another at Fwanbo, on the plateau between the lakes—about two days' journey from Tanganyika. Beginning with a capital of £20,000, afterwards increased to £100,000, the Company did not attempt to run before it could walk, and certainly does not deserve its efforts being stigmatised as unduly lacking in enterprise. But though the African Lakes Company included among its plans the acquisition of land, the formation of plantations, and the introduction of various tropical and sub-tropical crops, it was to Mr. John Buchanan, who originally went out as horticulturist to the Blantyre Mission, that the growth of coffee in the Nyassa country is due. The flourishing plantations of this product, which promises to be the mainstay of the country, were primarily the work of Mr. Buchanan—afterwards British Vice-Consul—and his brother; and it is interesting to note that the parent of all the coffee-trees of Nyassaland was a plant brought from the Edinburgh Botanic Garden, where it had long led a sickly existence. Through these gentlemen, aided by the efforts of Mr. O'Neill, the British Consul at Mozambique (Vol. III., p. 306), Nyassaland soon became better known, not only to

science, but to commerce. It may also be added that for the first time Portugal, which claimed this among other vast, indefinitely-bounded regions of Africa from shore to shore, learned the capabilities of the Nyassa Lake shores for other purposes than the breeding of men and women who could be converted into slaves. For a time, however, they did not seem to have appreciated the situation seriously. Indeed, in the 1884 treaty, which the Cortes so indignantly rejected, there was a clause guaranteeing the free navigation of the Zambesi, and it is not unlikely that the Portuguese either were passively inclined to regard the Nyassaland missionaries as possessing a right to the country which they and their countrymen were redeeming from barbarism, or were willing to permit them to do their best until the lawful lords were ready to step into their heritage.

But when the struggle became acute, Portugal began to look up her musty claims to every forgotten scrap of Africa. Among these Nyassaland was included, in spite of the title-deeds which Britain could show in the shape of nearly thirty years of discovery, exploration, exploitation, mission stations, and actual settlement, against the absolute lack of all these conditions of "effective occupation" on the part of Portugal. In the face of this clause in the Treaty of Berlin (p. 175) it was in vain that Senhor Barros Gomes invoked the customary *di ex machinâ* in the shape of mouldy parchments and legends still more mythical of nameless "travellers"—for which write "slavers"—who had two centuries, three centuries, any number of years ago, visited the Nyassa Lake. No occupation which could in the remotest degree be described as "effective" had ever been attempted; and, as a great deal more than Nyassaland hung on his decision, Lord Salisbury opposed all the voluminous correspondence from Lisbon, all the maps of the Portuguese geographers, and all the wild talk of the Lisbon journalists, with a firm *non possumus*. The wounded pride of Portugal

Portugal
claims Ny-
assaland.

* Johnston, *Proc. Roy. Geograph. Soc.* 1890, p. 713 and "Report, etc." (Africa, No. 6, 1894); Buchanan, *Ibid.*, 1891, p. 265, and *Geograph. Journal*, 1892, p. 245; Fotheringham: "Adventures in Nyassaland" (1891), etc.

it was easy to understand. In 1890, however, there was no room for sentiment, far less an opportunity to repent the four centuries of undisturbed apathy. The blunder of Damara-land and weakness of the Congo were not to be repeated: and, as Germany had now appeared on the Nyassa shore, there were two against one in the controversy, which dragged along from 1888 to 1890. A little less firmness, and all might have been lost. For Portugal actually attempted to close the Zambesi, and, finding this proceeding too perilous, contented herself with annoying the Lakes Company and the Nyassaland settlers by a host of such petty tricks as only officials carrying out a mean policy in the smallest of ways could devise.

There is, however, no ground for believing

did nothing to help the harassed whites. By this, they at once neglected the first duty of a government, and thus put their claims to be the rulers of Nyassaland out of the field. They even opposed difficulty in the way of the Company obtaining the arms necessary for their defence. The Arabs who, to a man, were slave-traders in alliance with native chiefs engaged in the same traffic, had reason enough for hating the Scottish merchants; since it was part of the latter's plan to do away with the slave-hunting and substitute in its place a more legitimate commerce. For some months, therefore, these attempts to drive the whites out of the country west of Nyassa were carried on. Forts were besieged and murderous attacks made wherever the

The "Nyassa Lake War."



BAROTSE CHIEF AND FOLLOWERS.

(From a Photograph taken for the Paris Society for Evangelical Missions.)

that the attack by the Arabs on the African Lakes stations was either instigated or encouraged by the Portuguese, though they

traders could be attacked. It is, indeed, possible that the Arabs might for a time have been successful, both in exterminating

the traders of whom they were so jealous and in intimidating others from following their example, had not Captain Lugard (Vol. III., p. 67) just then arrived on the scene in search of some useful work with which to while

as if it would be successful. For, in a moment of mistaken compromise, the British Minister in Lisbon went so far as to declare that Britain had no desire to obtain exclusive authority in Nyassaland, but only to secure



N.W. BASTION, KARONGA, LAKE NYASSA.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Fred Moir.)

away a soldier's holiday. Under his trained instruction, the fierce hordes of Arabs and natives were speedily driven back, and, on the arrival of Mr. Consul Johnston from Mozambique, were glad, in October, 1889, to come to terms with the Lakes Company and the whites generally, who they were now convinced had come to stay.*

Meanwhile, Portugal did not abate her efforts to obtain possession of a region which she had left foreigners to explore, settle, and defend, and at one time her persistency looked

toleration for her missionaries and traders. Happily, this proposal, which would have been an abnegation of everything aimed at, was abandoned when it was found that a hostile expedition, under Antonio Cardoso, had been sent to the western shore of the lake, and, being received in an unfriendly manner by the natives, had been supplemented by another under Serpa Pinto, while a royal decree had established a Roman Catholic mission in the very heart of the country chosen as a field of operations by the Scottish Churches. The native chiefs were also being induced to declare themselves vassals of the King of Portugal—a project neutralised by Mr. Johnston distributing British flags all along the Shiré Valley, up which Serpa Pinto was marching with a large force, ostensibly for the purposes of

* Mr. Fotheringham's "Adventures in Nyassaland: A Two Years' Struggle with Arab Slave-dealers in Central Africa" (1891), is a history of this episode in the annals of British enterprise. Captain Lugard has also given his personal experience of the "war" in his "Rise of our East African Empire" (1893), Vol. I., pp. 20-167. See also papers by him in *Geographical Journal*, Vol. II., p. 367, and *Contemporary Review*, September, 1889.

exploration, though, as his massacre of the Makololo proved, with designs infinitely more truculent (p. 240).

These natives were under British protection, and now, thanks to Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Johnston, agreements with the chiefs were made in all the country as far as Tanganyika. At last, seeing that their malignant efforts were in vain, the Portuguese agreed to the treaty* under which not only Nyassaland, but all the other possessions of the two Powers, are now regulated.

Mr. Rhodes, having failed to obtain the



H. H. JOHNSTON.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry, Baker Street, W.)

Katanga country (Msiri's kingdom), now a recognised part of the Congo State, aimed at extending the sway of the British South Africa Company over Nyassaland by incorporating the African Lakes Company, the operations of which had all along been on a scale too modest for the ambition of an empire expander so ambitious as the "Great Amalgamator," to employ the title which he had fairly earned. Negotiations had been already opened with Lewanika, king of the Barotse (pp. 1, 248), who had professed a wish to come under British protection, and had some time before granted a mineral and trading concession to an Englishman.

* Ratified 11th June, 1891.

This grant was bought up, and a larger one obtained, covering the entire Barotse country, estimated at 225,000 square miles, tolerably healthy (in the healthy season, though feverish at other times, and in part deadly so), very fertile, and said to contain "numerous evidences of mineral wealth," though until then the missionaries were the only people of any influence who had fixed stations in Barotseland (Vol. II., p. 209; Vol. III., pp. 15, 226, etc.).

The mission to Gungunhana of Gazaland had at first been equally successful, for mineral "and other" rights over the whole of his territory were secured to the Company; though whether that bibulous potentate, two of whose "indunas" had, in June, 1891, visited England† for the purpose of tendering their sovereign's allegiance to the Queen, quite understood all that he parted with, is a question which might admit of two opinions. But though Britain kept most of Manikaland and a small angle of territory between the Sabi and Nuanetsi Rivers, Lord Salisbury refused to recognise the British South Africa Company's treaties with Gungunhana on the plea of former ones with the Portuguese. At all events, the chief still professes great friendliness to the English, and, had not the Company's officers restrained him, would have tried to drive the Portuguese out of his country by force. He has, however, prohibited them from selling liquor (to his subjects), and has ordered the banyans,‡ mainly concerned in this traffic, to leave the kingdom.

The Company's possessions had thus been extending far eastwards beyond their original limits, and far northwards, until the Zambesi was no longer the boundary-line. After the Nyassa war, the resources of the African Lakes Company were so crippled that it was doubtful whether it could continue its

† In charge of Mr. Denis Doyle, a representative of the South Africa Company. This allegiance was declined, the indunas not being accredited to speak on their sovereign's behalf.

‡ Not "Arab traders," as the official report of the Chartered Company erroneously describes them. They are natives of India, and for the most part British subjects (p. 11).

Zambesia,
beyond the
Zambesi.

operations. In that case, the British administration would suffer, if the British hold on this part of Africa was not entirely loosened. It was, consequently, arranged that the Chartered Company should find £20,000 for the Lakes Company, and that thereafter this Company should be absorbed, the shareholders receiving Charter stock in exchange for their own holdings; the Chartered Company, in addition, subsidising the Lakes Company to the extent of £13,500, for the purpose of maintaining law and order north of the Zambesi, and for the protection of the missions prior to the later arrangements to be presently mentioned. But, before these offers could be carried out, the Imperial Government determined, by proclamation, on the 14th of May, 1891, to establish a Protectorate in Nyassaland, and to permit the Chartered Company to extend its operations so as to include the whole of the other British spheres of operation north of the Zambesi.* At the same time, treaties were made with the chiefs

Mr. H. H. Johnston, appointed Commissioner of the Queen and Administrator to the Company.

of this vaguely-defined region, of which Mr. (afterwards Sir) H. Johnston, who had been appointed Commissioner for Nyassaland, was permitted to act as Administrator on behalf of the Company, £10,000

per annum being granted by it for the expenses of this work.†

Mr. Johnston, accordingly, began his task in the year 1891, fixing the Residency of of the Commission at Zumbo, in the Shire Highlands. In a short time he raised and equipped an Indian Police Force, established regular postal services,‡ and in other ways developed the resources of his government. Magistrates were appointed, and a Govern-

* The Company claim to have a reversion of the Protectorate should the Imperial Government abandon it; but the statement that the entire cost of administration is at the Company's expense must be a misapprehension. Actually, during the year 1893-94, the Imperial contribution to the government was £27,500.

† "Report of British South Africa Company." 1889-92. This arrangement ceased in November, 1894.

‡ A little irregular, owing to the postman being subject to such mishaps as being seized for a slave, killed by an enemy, or swallowed by a crocodile!

ment *Gazette*, full of interesting geographical information, in addition to the usual official contents,§ was established. But all this was seriously interfered with by the raids of the half-breed Arab slave-hunters and their native allies. These were chiefly by Mpanda, Makanjira, and other Yao chiefs of Southern Nyassaland, against whom hostilities had to be waged with the slender military resources at the Commissioner's command. This warfare was, therefore, not always without loss; for in December, 1891, Captain Maguire, after destroying two native dhows, was killed, and several of his officers and soldiers were massacred in cold blood through the treachery of Makanjira; and, a month or two later, a second reverse followed, in which six of the British force were killed. The gunboats on the lake enabled better progress to be made by Captain Johnson, who had succeeded the unfortunate Maguire. After the Liwondi expedition, which was blockaded in Fort Sharpe until relieved by the men sent from the gunboats on the Shire and the German Anti-Slavery Expedition, there was peace for a time. But the action of Captain Johnson in building "Fort Lister," close to a much-frequented slave route, so displeased Nyaserera, the Mlanji chief, that he attempted to assassinate the British officer.

Thereafter, one expedition against the slavers followed another, with almost unvarying success, until, when Mr.

Johnston returned to England on leave in the summer of 1894, he was in the position of being able to declare that, though all of those engaged in the traffic had not yet abandoned hope of continuing it, it was next to impossible for any slave-caravan to pass through British territory.

The Pax Britannica.

§ In No. 1 (January 1st, 1894) there is a valuable statistical account of the West Shire district, by Mr. J. O. Bowhill. Lieutenant Selater, R.E., one of Mr. Johnston's staff, has already published useful topographical details; and we may expect important results from the researches of Mr. Whyte, the accomplished botanist at work in the Protectorate; while the Commissioner's own discoveries in all departments of natural history are too well known to require mention.

Peaceful development of Nyassaland has followed. Coffee and other plantations are dotting a country harassed not long ago by savage tribes, and settlers are establishing themselves round almost every military post

which still carries on operations in the Protectorate. But Zumbo is the administrative capital. It contains the Residency the chief post-office, and the dwellings of about twenty whites. The other stations in the



CHIEF GAMBO, KING LOBENGULA'S SON-IN-LAW.

(From a Photograph taken at Bulawayo, by Mr. A. E. Maund.)

with a vigour not usual in those parts of Africa less fortunate in a healthy climate than the uplands of Nyassaland. At Blantyre (Vol. III., p. 134) town lots even are being "taken up." In addition to a fine church (Vol. III., p. 137), it possesses many brick buildings, including the Vice-Consulate, the offices of the collectors of the district, and several merchants' houses, and is now the head-quarters of the African Lakes Company,

Shiré Highlands are Domasi, where there is a branch of the Blantyre Mission; Fort Lister, already mentioned; Fort Anderson, where the collector of the Mlanji district resides; three posts held by the Sikhs—Chiromo, Mpimbi, and Chikwawa, which are administrative centres; Matopé, a station of the Lakes Company, and a seat of the Universities' Mission; Fort Liwondi, where there are two garrisons of Sikhs and Makua, and the

residence of the collector of the Upper Shire; Fort Johnston, where there are a collector and an assistant-collector, an agent of the Lakes

missions.* In addition, there are various important settlements on the lake, such as the Free Church Mission posts, Langen-



Company, and a naval dockyard for Her Majesty's ships, besides scattered plantations, especially in the Mlanji Mountains, where, and on Mount Cholo, there are also

burg, the chief German station, garrisoned by

* *Times* (London), September 15th, 1894. "Africa, No. 5 (Blue-book, 1892). Keltie: "Partition of Africa," pp. 336-400, etc.

German soldiers and Somalis; Karonga (p. 249), a post of the Lakes Company; Kotakota, once a stronghold of the slavers, but now controlled by Fort Maguire, the French Algerian Mission at Chirundumusia on the Nyassa-Tanganyika, a plateau, and the Dutch Reformed Church stations in Angoniland. Trading-stations have been established as far as Lake Moero, and Australians are displaying a tendency to come to Nyassaland, instead of joining the discontented colonists in Paraguay. The Arabs, Mr. Johnston believes, are a waning power, and will soon cease to be a factor in the politics of that part of Central Africa. The *pax Britannica* is extending over all.

The Yaos, a very intelligent people, are, however, progressing, and, as a fact of suggestive interest, we may mention that copies of the *British Central Africa Gazette* and the *Mission Nyassa News*, now before us, are composed and printed off by natives trained at the mission-stations, working without the supervision of white men. Yet, we are assured, the proofs are singularly free from errors. A notice in German, regarding the use of fire-arms in German territory, was "set up" by a Yao with scarcely a mistake, though the man had never before seen a word of that language. The whites are increasing in number. At Blantyre, in 1891, there was a European population of eighteen; in April, 1894, there were ninety, including twenty women and children, and the roll is still extending.

"The male inhabitants," we are informed by Mr. Johnston in the course of a conversation in June, 1894, "offered me a farewell breakfast, at which sixty sat down. There were three long tables covered with magnificent roses, cultivated by Scottish planters, and the *menu* was quite equal to that of an English provincial town. It was difficult to realise that we were in Central Africa, a region only a few years ago left blank on the map. I may say here, parenthetically, that roses flourish in the Shiré Highlands as I have never seen them elsewhere. In fact, they bloom all the year round. Leaving Blantyre in April, I rode to the nearest point on the

Shiré, and the steamer of the Blantyre Mission was kindly placed at my disposal to convey us to Chiromo. Thence a British gunboat took me to Chinde. There had been a remarkable development at Chinde. In 1891 not a hut or house existed there; now there is a town with a great many substantial buildings of iron and wood and a European population of one hundred. From Chinde I travelled to Quilimane, and thence *viâ* Mozambique, the northern route. At Mozambique, as at all frontier posts, excellent relations have sprung up between the British and Portuguese. The Portuguese officials there are doing their utmost to work in harmony with the British. After leaving Mozambique I stayed with Baron von Schele, the German Governor of Dar-es-Salaam. His previous visit to Lake Nyassa had excellent results in placing the relations between the British and German officials upon a thoroughly satisfactory basis. I stayed a few days at Zanzibar, and had an interview with Tippoo Tib, who has many agents in British Central Africa, and who is steadily striving to use his great influence to keep the Arabs in order. Tippoo Tib lives in a good house furnished in the European style. He has immensely improved in health since his arrival in Zanzibar, and hopes to be able shortly to visit Bombay. Speaking of the Zambesi, the Chinde bar has greatly improved during the last few months. The extraordinary floods on the Zambesi have to a certain extent cleared out and straightened the bar. Its dangers have been enormously exaggerated by those who were opposed to the opening of the river on account of the competition with Quilimane. As a fact, no steamer ever came to grief on the Chinde bar, and, thanks to the energetic action of the German East African Steamship Company and Rennie's Aberdeen line, there is now an admirable fortnightly service between Chinde and Europe, *viâ* Zanzibar and *viâ* Natal."*

* See also Rankin's "The Zambesi Basin," pp. 216-32, and *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1890, p. 136; Johnston: "Africa. No. 6. 1894" (Blue-book).

MATABELELAND.

The British South Africa Company had in 1893, north and south of the Zambesi,* over 750,000 square miles committed to its control, an area exceeding the combined acreage of France, Germany, Austria, and Italy, and equal to eight and a half Englands, though plenty of the inhabitants have even yet never heard the name of Mr. Rhodes. But earth-hunger is the most voracious of appetites, and the Company, as we shall learn, would fain have devoured Katanga, unless the Katanga Company's expedition had anticipated those sent by the British Company. However, the latter scarcely made a pretence of ruling any portion of their territory in the same direct manner as Mashonaland was ruled. Matabeleland to the west, it is true, as a part of Lobengula's territory, was within their concession. But this region, rich in good pasture-lands, and, it is believed, richer in gold than the country farther east,† was largely left to that monarch, the pioneer expedition in passing to Mashonaland being careful to avoid the king's kraals, or in any way offending him needlessly.

How long this state of matters might have continued it is not worth speculating. It is certain that the invariable law of the whites in South Africa finding elbow-room at the cost of the blacks would have held true—sooner or later. However, it so happened that the inevitable came about rather earlier than had been expected. Lobengula had never ceased to regard Mashonaland as his territory, and the wretched natives as his slaves to murder, rob, or capture at his evil will. Still, he had no desire to precipitate difficulties. His difficulty was to restrain the "Matjaka," or young unmarried soldiers of the military hierarchy which his father had established in Matabeleland. It was these

reckless youths who were so hard to restrain from attacking the pioneer expedition, and in the autumn of 1893 their grumbling rendered the king's position, in the face of his former reluctance to defy the whites, a question of retaining his power or even his life.

For, as in all military despotisms, the tools of the despot become at times his master. Lobengula—"King Lo" of the irreverential whites—was, moreover, ^{A savage hierarchy.} fat, old, and gouty, three vital factors which do not tell in favour of a long hold of authority. All of the Matabeles are, however, not of the fighting order. They are divided into three classes, the existence of whom has always prevented the fusion of the people into one nation. These are (1) the Abezansi, or original Zulu followers of Moselikatse (Vol. III., p. 193), or their descendants. These folk are naturally the aristocracy of the country. (2) The Abemhla, or Bechuanas captured by the conqueror on his first entry into Matabeleland; and (3) the Maholi, who are little better than slaves, being captives from the neighbouring tribes—Mashonas, Makalakas, Basutos, etc.—during the frequent raids which this race of robbers made into the surrounding countries. The Abezansi, and even the Abemhla, are supposed not to marry out of their caste, while the Maholi, even when absorbed into the nation are not held as equal in social position to the other divisions. They are naturally the least warlike of the natives, and in the opinion of Mr. Colquhoun, possess much of the raw material of a peaceful and hard-working people. Even the Abezansi and Abemhla are not all warriors, and a certain portion had, previous to 1893, tasted the "sweets of justice and regular payment of wages in the Transvaal, and even in Mashonaland." But before the flower of the country was released from the prevailing military thralldom, it was the view of the shrewdest heads in South Africa, that nothing like peace and steady industry could gain a firm footing in Matabeleland.

The real stimulus of the brief war which

* Nyassaland and the region ceded by the Portuguese are estimated at 350,000 square miles.

† Maund, *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1890, p. 649, and 1891, p. 1, Selous, *Ibid.*, 1890, p. 146; Bishop Bruce, *Ibid.*, p. 346; Mathers: "Zambesia" (1891).

was to shatter this military despotism has been somewhat uncharitably sought in a variety of causes by no means creditable to the Chartered Company or to the officers immediately concerned. We prefer, in the present state of knowledge, not to go behind the ostensible reason for the surly neutrality of Lobengula towards the concessionnaires of his

The Matabele War.

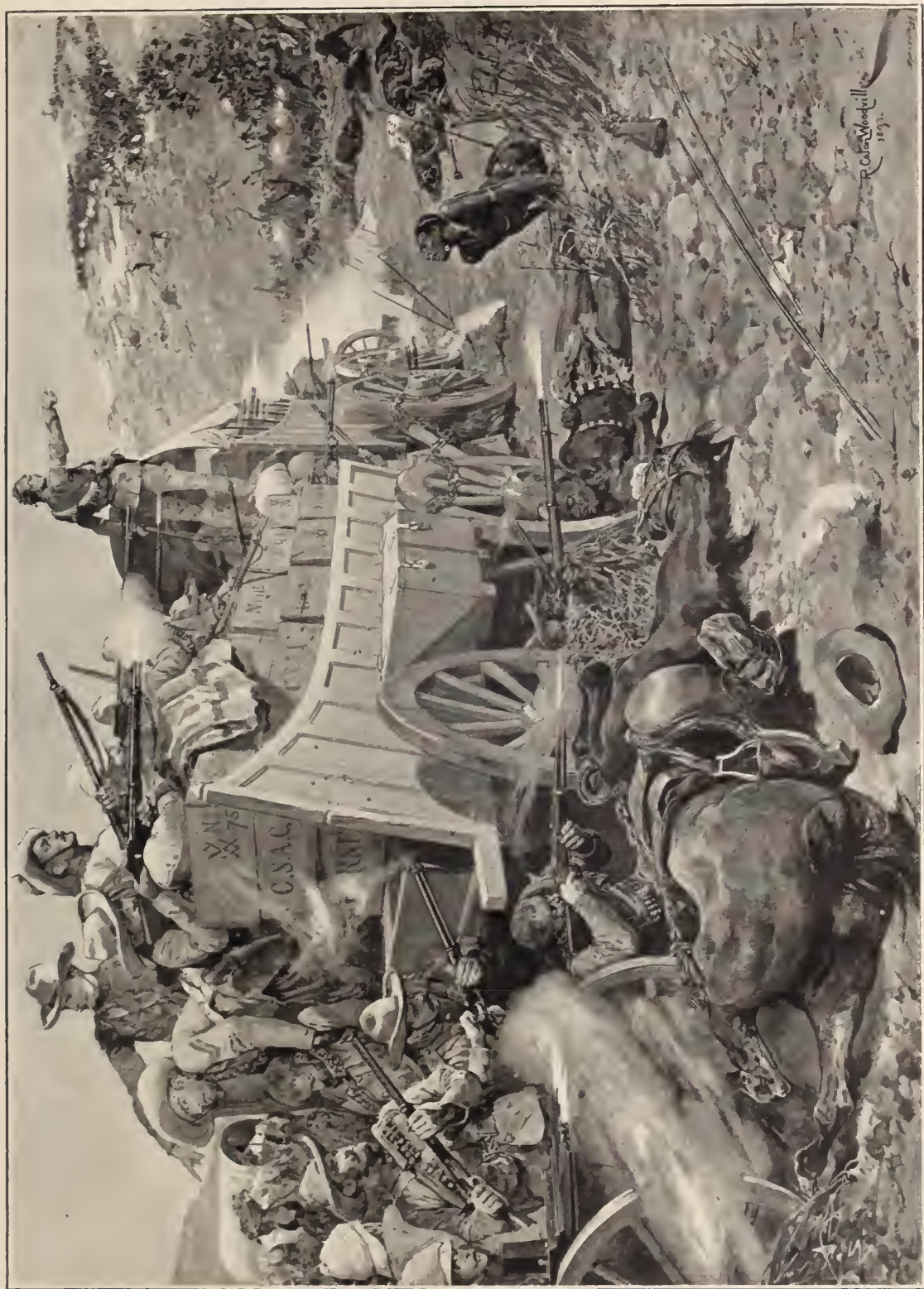
remonstrance to Lobengula was equally unsatisfactory. He expressed regret at the conduct of his "impis," but refused to abate his claim to treat the Mashonas as his serfs, and even demanded that those who had sought the protection of the Company's officers should be handed over to him—a fate certain to end in slavery or death. He declined to listen to any claim for compensation, and on the



THE "LAST STAND" BY MAJOR WILSON'S PARTY (p. 258).

territory being converted into active hostility. This was the fact of a considerable force of Matabele raiding in the neighbourhood of Victoria, and (July 10, 1893) assegaing whites and the servants of the white settlers in the "very streets of the township." Refusing to withdraw, Dr. L. S. Jameson—a Scottish medical practitioner in Kimberley whom Mr. Rhodes had persuaded to succeed Mr. Colquhoun as administrator (p. 243)—used force to expedite the departure of these insolent marauders. Many of them were shot down, though the survivors did not leave the country, and even fired upon a police patrol at a short distance from the post. A strongly-worded

14th of August sent a threatening letter to the High Commissioner. He actually went so far as to decline his month's pension. Then, and not until then, it was felt that Lobengula had got irretrievably under the Matjakas' influence, and was resolved to break off relations with the concessionnaires who had so speedily become his suzerains. Dr. Jameson was familiar with the Matabele temper and habits, and both he and Mr. Rhodes were convinced that if the country was ever to enjoy peace, the robbers who had so long dominated it must be crushed at whatever cost. And Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner of South Africa, being of the same opinion,



ATTACK BY MATABELE ON THE CHARTERED SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY'S LAAGER.

it was resolved to take whatever measures might be necessary to show Lobengula and his chiefs that a stronger than they had arrived in the land.

These measures were not premature; for, on the 5th of October, a party of the Imperial Bechuanaland Border Police was fired upon by the Matabele in the country claimed by Lobengula's old enemy Khama (Vol. II., p. 179). The only result of this action was that Major Goold-Adams, after providing for the safety of Macloustie, occupied Tati with his own force, supported by a native contingent led by Khama in person. The Company had raised, at its own expense, a body of Volunteer cavalry, and these were also placed under the command of Major Goold-Adams. Two columns—one under Major Forbes, which had left Fort Charter, and another under Major Alan Wilson, from Victoria, met on the 22nd of October on the Gwalo River, for the purpose of marching on Buluwayo. All this time, the "impis" of the king were waiting to surprise the whites, though, to Lobengula's lasting credit, the savage king, treacherous and cruel though he had often shown himself, not only did not maltreat the missionaries and traders at his capital and elsewhere in his country, but actually issued stringent orders for their protection; albeit, unlike his rival Khama, the Matabele monarch had always lent a deaf ear to the teachers' entreaties to turn from the manifold errors of his heathenish ways.

On the 25th of October the invading force was fiercely attacked by about 5,000 men, some of them armed with the rifles which had so unwisely been presented to the king (p. 237). But this attack, like a second made an hour later, though carried out with reckless courage, was quickly repulsed with heavy loss; 500 Matabele were killed or wounded with the deadly Maxim guns, while the casualties of the "Charterers" were two killed and six wounded.

Buluwayo being now thirty-five miles distant, and the road there open, the columns proceeded to make for that goal. Meanwhile,

Major Goold-Adams and Commandant Raaf were marching with their columns to the same spot, though by a more circuitous route. For most of the way they were not molested. It was only when in the vicinity of Ramabekwan, on the 2nd of November, that they were attacked by a determined force under Gambo, son-in-law of Lobengula. The first furious onslaught was repulsed by the Bechuanaland Police, but, soon rallying, the Matabele fought until 200 of them were slain and their leader was wounded.

They then fled to the hills for safety from the pursuing troopers, leaving the whites to count the cost of this courageous fight for king and country. Two Englishmen and four natives were killed, and two Englishmen and eight natives wounded—among the injured being Mr. Selous, the chief scout and guide of the column, who, on hearing of the threatened outbreak of hostilities, had hastily returned from England to South Africa. He had been struck in defending a transport-waggon, though, luckily, not so severely but that he recovered in time to get married next year, and in 1895 to make his home at Buluwayo.

But by this time Buluwayo was invested by the Fort Victoria and Charter columns, and was speedily reduced to ashes, and occupied by the Volunteers, Mr. *Væ Victis!* Rhodes, for reasons which it is not necessary to inquire into, declining to accept the Bechuanaland Police (an Imperial force) as the garrison. Lobengula and his principal wives and followers had, however, fled, apparently with the object of crossing the Zambesi River. Hotly pursued by a small detachment under Major Wilson, the refugees turned at bay, and almost annihilated their hunters. But all was in vain. Ill and unwieldy, the fugitive king soon succumbed to the fatigues of the journey, and with his death the war closed, and the Matabele Empire came to an end.*

* "Report of British South Africa Company for 1893"; Colquhoun. *lib. cit.*; Cooper-Chadwick: "Three Years with Lobengula" (1894); Wills and Collingridge: "The Downfall of Lobengula" (1894); Donovan: "With Wilson in Matabeleland" (1894). etc., besides private information.

The stirring events of the busy period it took to accomplish all this have purposely been told with the utmost brevity, and in so meagre an outline as not to admit of comment. For we are writing chronicles in which most of the actors are still alive, and of actions too recent to permit the rancour which they roused in influential quarters to cool. It is, therefore, not for us to judge motives hastily, since it will no doubt happen that before many years, when reticence is no longer necessary, the truth will be arrived at regarding movements and incidents still obscure. Blunders were made, and deeds done which must be deplored. Yet, with all, the rude operations of savage warfare were never carried on with less to lament, and perhaps in no case was the end arrived at with such complete success. To all appearance there will be no further trouble with the Matabele.

Already, the chiefs have "come in" and have been pacified by the assurance that when the Land Commission has arrived at the rights of their claims, they will be secured in their property. Meanwhile, the capital is rising from its ashes, not in wattle and daub and filth, but in brick and timber. A newspaper in lithography has appeared, and a bank has begun business. Hotels have been built, and town lots, either for speculative purposes or for immediate use, are bringing good prices. The electric light and the telephone have been installed; water-works are promised; and Mr. Rhodes's well-equipped residence has arisen on the site of Lobengula's squalid kraal. All of which makes the reader contrast 1895 with the days when Buluwayo was a savage den, and Matabeleland within the regions of which explorers took cognisance. But the end is not yet.



KING LOBENGULA.

(From a Drawing from life by Mr. A. E. Maund.)

CHAPTER XV.

GERMANY AND ITALY IN AFRICA: THE TEUTON AND THE LATIN.

The German East Africa Company—A Tale of Energy without Tact—A Justification of Slavery—The Drill-Sergeant as an Administrator—Troubles and what Followed—Bushiri and his War of Liberation—The Imperial Government Interferes—End of the Company as an Administrative Power—The Present Condition of Affairs—Sanitation—Roads—A Railway—Pipeclay—Promise for the Future—A Phenomenon in East Africa—The Company which Pays a Dividend—South-West Africa under the Germans—War with the Natives—Poverty of the Country—Call on the English to Help in its Development—Its Present Condition—State of Togoland—The Cameroons—Its Rich Hinterland and many Resources—Hostilities with the Tribesmen—Official Outrages—And Unofficial Sympathy—Italy in Africa—Seizure of Massowah and Trouble with Abyssinia—The Colony of Eritrea—Extension to the Somali Country—A Difficulty about Boundaries—Present Condition—More Glory than Gold—Capture of Kassala—The First Step in Recovering the Soudan.

FOR convenience' sake, we have almost closed the Story of Africa by considering the German share in it last. But in reality, as the reader is already aware, the Teutons began the modern partition of that continent before even England realised that a new and more energetic competitor than any of her old rivals had arisen. The general facts concerning the German seizure of the masterless parts of West Africa have already been sketched (pp. 195-210), and in relating the incidents which led to the partition of the Sultan of Zanzibar's dominions, the initiatory proceedings in their settlement in that region have also been described in sufficient detail.

"Die Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft" was founded on the 12th of February, 1885, and in March, 1887, was incorporated under a charter which enabled it to combine administrative functions with the grosser aims that had induced the German capitalists to sink money in this latest pet of the Colonial party.

The energy with which it began work was characteristically German. Scientific expeditions were despatched to study the capabilities of the new territory, and numbers of subordinate companies formed for carrying on plantations and various commercial operations along the Pangani and Umba Rivers and in other favourable situations. So eagerly was the colonial idea taken up that by 1888 there were more than thirty such

establishments in the German section of East Africa. To a large extent the Germans avowedly modelled their 'prentice plans on those of their more experienced English rivals, and when the latter leased from the Sultan strips of territory between the Tana and the German bounds, the former followed suit by obtaining from Seyed Bargash's successor, a fifty years' tenancy of the coast lands from the Rovuma to the Umba. With this extension of territory the Germans proceeded to Germanise it still more thoroughly.

A school for studying the Swaheli language was founded at Berlin and graduates, in the shape of officials, were sent out to practise their accomplishments on ^{Energy without tact.} the already more than sufficiently governed natives of East Africa. A just people—but, as Voltaire said of the English, not amiable—the Germans did their best to rule according to their lights. They made thrifty bargains but stuck to them. In the matter of wages they were not lavish, though their word was as good as their bond, and they took care the natives should understand that they had got new masters who "would stand no nonsense." The German missionary societies were quite as eager to occupy the new field as their countrymen with more secular aims, and their agents worked alongside the English missionaries with so little friction that the latter felt justified in recommending the natives to rely

The German
East Africa
company.

upon the good faith of the Germans—despite certain little difficulties. And the chief of these was that, notwithstanding the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society and the Government to put down the curse of Africa, many of the planters employed slave-labour and even went so far as to declare their belief that without using compulsion the black man would remain callous to the regeneration of Africa if it depended on the sweat of *his* brow. And little by little, as the always

revolt over the entire German territory. At first some distinction was made between the different kinds of white men. But when the Arabs and the natives under their control openly declared their intention to make short work of the English also while they were at it, matters assumed a more serious aspect. A conjoint blockade of the coast was accordingly undertaken. Meanwhile, however, the revolt under Bushiri of Pangani grew more and more

A war and
what
followed.



GERMAN EAST AFRICA : OLD ARAB FORT, KILWA.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

slender staff of officials increased and became more and more military, the brusque manner of the German officer with a hypothesis of how the natives ought to be treated, but with no accumulated experience to rely upon, rendered the relations between the white men from Berlin and the black men in Africa less and less agreeable. The drill-sergeantry of the officials, without any sympathy for inferior races or any desire to understand their character, brooked no bending, while the involuntary subjects whom they ruled so indiscreetly had just as little malleability as their assumed masters.

The result was, before long, an organised

ferocious. The interior posts, which were always a source of weakness and expense, had by this time been generally abandoned, or given over to the missionaries; while the planters fled in terror of their lives from the stations founded nearer the coast, and hundreds of British Indians, in whose hands was most of the town business, sought asylum in Zanzibar.

It was now necessary for the German Imperial Government to interfere, and in doing so a severe censure was passed on the company whose unwisdom and lack of tact had so speedily brought East Africa to the verge of ruin. To pacify the country, Captain von

Wissmann (Vol. III., p. 23) was despatched to take command of a force of native soldiers in addition to some German troops and sailors, and a considerable sum voted to defray this and other necessary expenses. It

brief experiment of entrusting the government of German East Africa to a trading company.

It was, however, still in its name that the Sultan's rights over the coast were



GERMAN EAST AFRICA : OLD SHIRAZI MOSQUE, KILWA.

(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)

was, however, not before more than a year of hard fighting, and the destruction of nearly every piece of German property, that Bushiri, the hapless hero in this African "War of Liberation," was captured and executed; and nearly as long again before the embers of the rebellion on the southern coast of the German territory were quenched. This also ended the

purchased for the nominal sum of £200,000. To pay this, and help to make good the ruin wrought by Bushiri and his compatriots at the Arabs' instigation, a sum of £525,000 was advanced. But henceforth the government of East Africa was placed under an Imperial Commissioner, with his seat of government at Dar-es-Salaam, and

subordinate officials over the different districts into which the 350,000 square miles of German East Africa are divided.

The country very rapidly recovered from the ruin wrought by the rebellion; and the rulers, deriving wisdom from the past, have taken care to obviate any such disaster as that which nearly ended German colonisation in East Africa. The deplorable methods that were largely accountable for all this have, unfortunately, not altogether given place to something better.* But, in the course of years, the Landwehr lieutenants have gained some knowledge; and, if wisdom has not always come with it, the Berlin bureaucrats have acquired enough to keep these youthful autocrats from playing the military despot with such freedom as might imperil their hold on East Africa. Most of the towns have been improved. Sanitary measures have been carried out for the first time within the memory of man. Roads have been made, steamers placed on Lake Nyassa and another designed for Victoria Nyanza. A railway has even been laid out connecting the latter lake with the coast, and in October, 1894, the first fifteen miles of it—from Tanga into the interior—were opened for traffic. German goods, it is complained by the traders, are displacing English—the natives finding that they can buy the articles “made in Germany” more cheaply than the corresponding ones produced in Great Britain. The consequence is that the German manufacturers are receiving heavy orders even from British merchants doing business in the British sphere of influence, and that the German company is—on paper—paying 5½ per cent. dividend. This, at least, was declared in 1893–94, though it has still to repay the heavy sums advanced to it by the Imperial Government. Nor, of course, does this profit

take into account the indirect subsidies which the Company receives in the shape of annual grants for various purposes in which it is by far the most interested party. For military operations the Reichstag has from time to time voted an aggregate sum of £400,000. The German line of steamers is subsidised to the amount of £45,000. The cable from Zanzibar to Bagamoyo receives an annual subsidy of £5,000; while we have already noticed the £200,000 which the Imperial Treasury advanced to “the Company” to capitalise the rent payable to the Sultan of Zanzibar. Compared with the entire absence of any such comfortable succour on the part of the British Government to the British Company, no wonder the latter has not thriven, and that at this moment its future is bounded by the hope that it will be treated reasonably in making over to the State the results of its profitless efforts for the regeneration of Britain’s share of East Africa.

But colonists no more come to the German sphere than they do to that under the British flag. The stream of Teutons seeking new homes still flows, as of old, across the Atlantic. Only traders, generally without their wives and families, seek Africa; for, with the exception of a few inland plateaux too far from the coast to be of any value with the present difficult means of communication, little of the country is fitted for cultivation after the European fashion. Even Kilimanjaro is not, except in a small part, suited for temperate tillage. Tropical products can, however, be grown in most districts; though, until a railway penetrates, it is doubtful whether the crops can ever pay to cultivate. Major von Wissmann, indeed, in 1894 warned his countrymen against the deplorable step of emigrating to Africa except as planters and traders prepared to risk at once capital and health. For them it is possible there may be openings; though, as the modest dividend of the East Africa Company shows, there is not much hope of realising “golden joys” even when to enterprise is added that experience which is still

* In “From Sultan to Sultan” (1892), Mrs. Sheldon, an American lady who visited Kilimanjaro and may, therefore, be regarded as both impartial and competent, compares German rule very unfavourably with that of the British Company in East Africa.

Colonies
without
colonists.

scarce among the German "colonists." If Mr. Johnston is not hopeful of any but a small number of Europeans making homes in Nyassaland,* it is scarcely likely that the less healthy East Africa will prove more fortunate. To the Asiatic races, mixed with the native stock, belongs most likely the future of this country.

But if the unofficial immigrant is happily rare, the official one is present in abundance, though by no means so plentiful as in the French possessions. East Africa, like the rest of the Teutonic territories beyond the sea, has found openings for a swarm of administrators, explorers, exploiters, and men of science, who exhibit such energy in inditing voluminous reports that if writing about it could make a colony, nothing would be lacking to their success. But, unfortunately, in Africa, as elsewhere, before Germany was infected with the yearning for lands beyond the seas all the best pieces of the earth had been occupied by other nations. Still, in the far-distant future, when there is no elbow-room in Europe or America for the white race; when railways have enabled Africa to be easily traversed and the discoveries of science render malaria and hæmaturia—that plague of East Africa,—fevers and the tsetse fly innocuous, then the generations who are yet unborn may bless the prescience of their ancestors who, at such self-sacrifice, acquired outlets for the overflow of cooler realms.†

And what East Africa is all other portions of German Africa are, more or less. In South-West Africa, the nation which ac-

quired it with so much diplomatic *finesse* (p. 166), has as yet made very little of the territory. For, if not un-
South-West Africa.
healthy, it is arid and barren and, until the surrender‡ of Hendrik Witboi, the Hottentot chief, was disturbed by a persistent and not always unsuccessful warfare waged by various native tribes who declined to recognise their German rulers. And as the region assigned them by the agreement of July, 1890, contains some 200,000 natives scattered over 340,000 square miles, the task which the Germans have had to face since 1885 has been no light—or inexpensive—one. In addition to war, of which the new-comers had to bear the brunt—first with Kama-herero, the Damara chief, and then, after he had given a reluctant promise to recognise the inevitable, with Witboi and his people—the Damara and Namaqua tribes have been frequently engaged in internecine struggles. The result has not been worthy of the care with which the country has been explored and its expense in civil rulers and military expeditions to the Imperial Government. The coast-lying region is irreclaimable desert. Inland it is better, but not fitted—except at great expenditure—for the support of many more people than at present find a scanty livelihood in the better portions. Little rain falls, and the sheep and cattle kept are few in proportion to the acreage over which they must pasture. There is copper, no doubt, but as yet mines have not been discovered of the richness of those in Cape Colony. Finally, as the poverty-stricken natives have little to sell except cattle, for which there is no market, the amount of trade which can be done with them is limited. Consequently, the capital sunk by the various companies which were established in confidence on Herr Lüderitz's over-sanguine description of the resources of the region, has as yet been unremunerative. At first he made over his rights to a German Colonial Society for South-West Africa,§ which made concessions

‡ October, 1894.

§ The "Deutsch Südwestafrikanische Kompanie," which still holds concessions in the southern part of the country, or "Deutsch-Namaqualand," as it has been called.

* "Report by Commissioner Johnston of the First Three Years' Administration of the Eastern Portion of British Central Africa" (Blue Book, Africa, No. 6, 1894).

† Stuhlmann: "Mit Emin-Pacha in Herz von Afrika" (1894); Baumann: "Durch Massailand zur Niquelle" (1894), and *Geographical Journal*, 1894, p. 246; Wagner: "Deutsch-Ostafrika" (1888); Herrman, "Die Wasaba u. Ihr Land" (*Mitt. Forsch. Deutsche Schutzgebiet*, 1894, p. 45); v. Behr, *Ibid.*; Vol. VI., No. 1 (a journey across the Wakua Steppe); Warburg, "Die Kulturpflanzen Usambaras" (*Ibid.*, 1894, p. 131); Brehme, "Die Kulturland des Kilima-Njaro" (*Ibid.*, 1894, p. 106); Danc-kelmann, "Die Geog. Lage von Tabora" (*Zeit. ges. Erdkunde Berlin*, 1893, p. 305); Kiepert's "Kolonial-Atlas" (1893); Perthes' "Kolonial-Atlas" (1893), etc. etc.

to various subordinate companies. These failing, a compromise was made between handing over the country to a British syndicate—the mere suggestion of which aroused the Chauvinism of the Colonial party whose ignorance had already proved so costly—and abandoning it altogether, by organising an Anglo-German Company, to make the best of what, without the help of more experienced coadjutors, the Germans could make little. This new Association is, however, understood to be Anglo-German only in name. The bulk of the capital invested in it is English, and its control is mainly so, in reality. The latest effort (Jan., 1895) of this South-West African Company, is the complete acquisition of the "Damaraland Concession," composed of mineral rights, freehold land, the privilege of constructing railways to the Bechuanaland frontier and other potentially valuable grants from the Imperial German Government. Copper and lead are reported to exist in quantity, and Dr. Hindorf is inclined to

regard the soil as useful, not only for pastoral purposes, but as capable of growing crops under irrigation. The Rehoboth and Khanas Concession is said to contain gold, while two other German Companies carry on profitable trading and other transactions.

A number of little settlements have, however, been made, and whatever can be accomplished by hard work will be done, though as colonies for colonists Damara- and Namaqua-lands must be dismissed from consideration. Port Nolloth, the little mining village of Ookiep, Windhoek (Afrikander's former stronghold), Upington (a reminiscence of the sham "Republic of Upingtonia," which was proclaimed during the fever of annexation), and so forth, are as yet the only semblances of the towns which in other parts of South Africa arise with such mushroom-like rapidity; while Sandwich Bay, Angra Pequena, and Port Nolloth are the only pretences to harbours, though, in reality, they are mere half-sanded-up roadsteads. A railway has been constructed from Port Nolloth;



BANANA (*Musa Cavendishii*).
(From a Photograph by Sir John Kirk.)



ABYSSINIAN GOATHERD AND FLOCK.

(From a Photograph by Dr. G. Schweinfurth.)

but water has to be brought from a distance in pipes, and, as all food is imported from Cape Town, living is very costly. It is exceptional to find good soil, and in places it is so impregnated with alkali that the surface—as near as the estuary of the Orange River—appears as if covered with snow. In short, Count Pfeil (p. 198), who as a German might be suspected of taking a hopeful view of the “colony” from which so much was expected, pronounces none of the country over which he travelled “particularly fit for agriculture.” The south offers fair pasture land, if only water could be procured. But the western section of the north is irreclaimable desert, though farther east there are some excellent stock countries, with the advantage of water to be obtained by sinking for it. One merit, however, all South-West Africa possesses—and that is “a bracing, salubrious, and lovely climate.”*

* Pfeil: “South-West Africa” (*Geographical Journal*, July, 1893, p. 29); Dove, “Beiträge zur Geographie von S.W. Afrika” (Petermann’s *Geog. Mittheilungen*, 1894,

This is something; and if the reputed gold-discoveries which are drawing many people to the country should be confirmed, it will be a very great deal indeed.

If a part of Africa with so good a climate as the region just noticed does not attract emigrants who come to stay, it would be unreasonable and not desirable that such unhealthy slices of the tropics as the Cameroons and Togoland should. Accordingly, with the exception of officials, there are not many Europeans in either colony, and only one or two sanguine men who have attempted plantations. In short, the German colonies in West Africa are much the same as the English ones in the same region. They are dependencies for exploitation, not for settlement, and must

Condition of
the West-
African colonies:
Togoland.

p. 60; and summary in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 1894, p. 544; Büttner: “Das Hinterland von Walfischbai und Angra Pequena” (1884); Schinz: “Deutsch-Süd-West Afrika” (1891); Demay: “Colonisation Allemande” (1890), etc.

always be the strongholds of black men. Togoland comprises some 16,000 square miles of the Gold Coast, with a population of less than half a million. But, unlike the other German colonies or "protectorates"—under which comforting name Togoland is ranked—it is governed by a Civil Commissioner, aided by a council of the merchants doing business in the country. Little Popo is regarded as the capital, Togo, from which the colony takes its name, being a large native town on Lake Togo; but Lome is the principal port, and here, as well as Porto Seguro and Bagida, there are numbers of traders for the palm-oil and ivory brought to their factories.

The natives grow the usual crops of maize, yams, tapioca, ginger, and bananas, though not to an extent capable of furnishing an export business. The country is, however, not half-explored, and is known to yield many valuable dye-woods besides india-rubber and other products of value. But already Togoland is prospering in a quiet way, with promise of being a brisk rival to the British-African colonies on the west coast, for the revenue—chiefly derived from a tax on the cottons, spirits, tobacco, salt, and gunpowder imported—more than meets the expenditure. It may, however, be added, that as yet the British tonnage which enters Little Popo considerably exceeds the German. The natives have so peaceably accepted the German rule that a small negro police force has been able to keep the peace. Hostile expeditions against refractory natives in the back-country have not been required; but commercial and exploring parties have been despatched for more peaceful purposes. Some of these missions—which were under Krause, von François, Kling, and Wolff*—reached as far as Mossi in Nigerland. Bismarckburg, a station 130 miles in the interior, has formed a starting-point for most of them, and at Missa-Hoehe, five days' journey from the coast, a second

advanced post has been built in a position reported to be more than usually healthy. The Volta, on the western border of the colony, is found to be navigable for nearly 200 miles, and the Togoland Company have established experimental plantations in several localities. However, as the colony is wedged in between French and British territory, there have been numerous negotiations regarding boundary-lines, the main objects of which have been to secure Salaga, a great emporium of trade, at present outside the German sphere, and to obtain a freer use of the Volta, the lower portion of which flows through the British Gold Coast Colony. In short, Togoland, even if it does not succeed in enlarging its limits owing to the neutral zone in the north-east † and the rival claims of France and the Royal Niger Company to the south-west—claims which may possibly be accentuated now that Dahomey is actually a French protectorate—it has still the making of a profitable possession if it continues to be as well governed as heretofore.

The same cannot be said of the Cameroons. Stretching from the coast to about thirty miles east of Yola on the Benué, and thence to the southern shore of Lake Tchad, including within its area the Cameroon Peak and other heights of from 8,000 to 13,760 feet, all excellent sites for sanatoria, it has never done much to reflect credit on German administrative ability.‡ The greater part of the 130,000 square miles is fertile, and, until lately, the 200,000 people inhabiting them, gave little serious trouble to the missionaries and traders. The whites number over 200, the majority German, who are permitted a slight share in the government of the colony so far as being represented on the official council of three. Plantations of cacao and tobacco have been formed by the Plantation Company,§ and

Condition
of the
Cameroons.

† Agreed upon by a treaty between Great Britain and Germany in 1888.

‡ Jaeger: "Kamerun u. Sudan" (1892); Ramsay, "Bericht des Leiters der Südkamerun-Hinterland expedition" (*Mitt. Forsch. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.*, 1893, p. 281).

§ Kamerun Land und Plantagen Gesellschaft.

* Kling and Büttner, "Ergebnisse der Forschungsreisen im Hinterlande von Togo, 1890 bis 1892" (*Mitt. Forsch. Deutschen Schutzgeb.*, 1893, pp. 545-560. In this publication most of the later German explorations are noticed).

a considerable trade done in palm-oil and ivory by the various factories, most of which up to 1884 were English, a nationality still very active in the Cameroons trade. At Cameroons, Batanga, Bimbia, Bakundu Town, Aqua's Town, and Bell's Town, all of which are native villages (pp. 172, 175), a considerable business is carried on, though the British vessels which enter the Cameroons are still more numerous than those belonging to any other nation, Germany included. But though England, after the first soreness at Dr. Nachtigal's proceedings (p. 171), acted most liberally to the new masters of the Cameroons, ignoring for their convenience certain treaties made by Étienne de Rogozinski, a Pole,* by which she might have claimed prior occupation, and facilitating the sale to them of the English Baptist station of Victoria in Amba's Bay (p. 172), the Cameroons has not prospered. The formation of a colony in this quarter met from the first violent opposition in the Reichstag, and it must be admitted that in its administration the pipe-clay, bullying style of the German colonial official has been seen at his rawest and his worst. The natives, who are noted as keen traders, soon began to rebel against this unwonted style of proceedings. Above all, they objected to the Germans setting their faces—as the British have in Lagos and the other Oil Rivers—against the coast tribes acting as middlemen between the white traders and the inland people. They even attempted to prevent the military commercial expeditions under Kund, Tappenbeck, Zintgraff, and Morgen—with some of whom we have already met (Vol. III., p. 300)—from penetrating up the rivers. Indeed, before succeeding in doing so, Kund's expedition met with a serious repulse, though eventually the administration succeeded in founding stations on Yeunde to the south of the, until then, unexplored Sanaga River, Baromhi on the Elephant Lake to the north of the Cameroons

Peak, at Bali, on a grassy wooded plateau not far from the Benué, and elsewhere. Zintgraff and Morgen† even attempted in 1890 to reach Baghirmi, but after the death of many of its members in an attack by the natives not far from Bali, Lieutenant Morgen was forced to retreat down the Benué with the survivors. In the course of their journeys the hitherto unknown interior was well explored and much information accumulated for future use.

In justice to Baron von Soden, its first Governor, it ought to be noted that much has been done to improve the sanitary condition of the country. Stone houses have in many spots displaced the old hulks (pp. 168, 169), and macadamised roads the primitive native paths that had hitherto been the only highways around the chief settlements.‡ Yet, in spite of these improvements—many of them rather in advance of the colonial requirements—the Cameroons requires heavy annual grants from the Imperial Treasury to defray the cost of officials who were never paid on too lavish a scale. Possibly, a little more liberality might have been productive of a better class of minor functionaries. For, in 1894, a subordinate officer—acting, however, as the first in the colony—brutally flogged some women and committed other outrages, which were followed by a mutiny of native soldiers and an attack on the Government buildings. On his trial before a Disciplinary Court, this embodiment of all that is most objectionable in German rule in Africa admitted the charges, though he claimed that the mutiny was due to different causes equally discreditable to the system in vogue. Yet all the punishment awarded him,§ was to remove him to another locality—there being hardly a worse

† Morgen: "Durch Kamerun von Süd nach Nord" (1893); Danckelmann, "Klimatologie des Schutzgebietes von Kamerun" (*Mitt. Deutschen Schutzgeb.*, 1892, pp. 211-242); Buchner: "Kamerun" (1890).

‡ Keltie: "The Partition of Africa," pp. 305-312; Binger: "Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi, 1887-89" (1892); Meinecke: "Koloniales Jahrbuch for 1893" (1894), etc.

§ October 15th, 1894.

* "Huit Années d'Exploration dans l'Ouest de l'Afrique Équatoriale" (*Bull. Soc. Khéd. Géog.*, 1893, pp. 717-759). These journeys scarcely deserve the pretentious title given them. The mission station was sold for £4,000.

quarter than his then district—and to suffer a reduction of 20 per cent. in his salary. Any judicial body that could find that flogging of women was not “an excess of authority,” and the gross iniquities to which he pleaded guilty only “a dereliction of official duty,”

century Italian merchants, especially those of Venice, haunted the shores of the Red Sea and of the Indian Ocean. Nor could they forget that among the earliest missionaries in the Congo country (Vol. III., p. 119) were Italians like Pigafetta, Cavazzi and Merolla



COLONIAL PALACES, MASSOWAH.

(From a Photograph by Dr. G. Schweinfurth.)

is, we fear, expressing in concrete form the ideas permeating the entire German colonial administration. Yet, though the Imperial authorities and some of the Missionary Societies objected to this extraordinary finding, the press, with scarcely an exception, had nothing to say against it.

While all this annexation was proceeding, Italy looked on with ill-concealed uneasiness.

Italy in Africa: Eritrea. She could never forget that the Romans were the first colonists of

Africa and, until Europe again began to open up relations with the black men's country, the only civilised people who had possessed permanent settlements on its shores.* Old records, among others the map of Laurenziano Gadiano, preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence, indicate that even before the middle of the fifteenth

da Sorrento, whose works were the first as they will always remain among the most valuable, on that region. Her naturalists and travellers still found attractions in Tripoli, Cyrenaica, and Abyssinia, and on the two former provinces of the Turkish Empire Italy would fain have repeated the French manoeuvre in Tunisia and that of the British in Cyprus. But just as there was not an Italy united enough in 1830 to protest against the occupation of Algeria, so, fifty years later, she was not strong enough to seize Tripoli as a compensation for her failure to keep the site of Carthage out of French hands, on the Powers declaring that the time was not yet ripe for any further dismemberment of the Turkish Empire.†

† Della Cella: “Narrative of an Expedition from Tripoli in Barbary . . . in 1817” (translated by Anthony Aufreere, 1822). This work was afterwards (1840) published in French under the name of “Adolphe Pezant,” who is sometimes included (*e.g.* in Taramelli and Bellio's work, referred to on p. 271), among explorers of Tripoli. The more modern aspirations of Italy are contained in Vigoni's “Abissinia” (1889), Borsari's “Geografia,

* In making this general statement we do not, of course, forget the half-mythical voyages of Hanno the Carthaginian (p. 3), the invasion by the semi-barbarous Arabs who now occupy so large a part of it, or the conquests of the various nations who successively took possession of Egypt.

However, as early as 1870, she took advantage of France being occupied elsewhere to become her neighbour at Obock, by acquiring from a shipping firm the Bay of Assab, on the Red Sea coast, which they had occupied from 1865. The ostensible object of

and the Beilul Territory, after compelling the Egyptian garrison to vacate these posts. Great Britain being passively agreeable—and without her consent these high-handed seizures of the territory of a friendly Power would scarcely have been attempted—in three years Italy had gradually extended along the coast, not far from Suakim in the north, for a distance of 650 miles to Obock in the south.

But, if the great Powers either connived, or were sulkily acquiescent in these proceedings, King Johannis, of Abyssinia, regarded them in a very different mood. Massowah—built on a



GHINDA, ABYSSINIA.

this hold on the African coast was to obtain a coaling-station. Yet it was not until 1882, after Great Britain had annexed Socotra, on which the captains of the Italian war-ships had been casting longing eyes, that Assab Bay was formally occupied. In 1885, when the Mahdist troubles

compelled so much of the Egyptian territory to be relinquished, Italy, without asking permission of either the Khedive or the Sultan of Turkey, quietly annexed Massowah,

Etnologica e Storica, della Tripolitana, Cirenaica e Fezzan (1888), and Haimann's "*Cirenaica*" (1890).



CONVENT ON THE BIZEN ROCK, ABYSSINIA.

(From a Photograph by Dr. G. Schweinfurth.)

coral islet—is off a coast which, geographically, is that of Abyssinia; and when more than four centuries ago the Portuguese had seized the place it was then virtually an Abyssinian town. Nor, after it first fell into the hands of the Turks, and, by a process of

devolution, became an Egyptian port, did the masterful monarchs of the mountainous land behind reconcile themselves to being shut off from the sea, except by sufferance of another nation. Johannis—the Prince Kasai who rendered such good service to the British expedition against Theodore—indeed, claimed that it had been promised that his aspirations should receive favourable consideration in view of his hostility to the Mahdists and services in withdrawing the beleaguered Egyptian troops through his country. At all events, though Johannis was not so vain as to imagine that he could hold Massowah, he thought that the Italians were breaking the compact which provided for the free transit of Abyssinian goods through it. When, therefore, he saw a Moslem garrison so feeble that he had more than once made short work of the forces sent against him by the ambitious Ismail replaced by a Christian one likely to grow in strength, he determined to act without waiting for the more favourable moment that might never arrive. This he chose at Dogali, when, in January, 1888, an Italian detachment was almost annihilated by a superior army of Abyssinians under Ras Alula. Had the latter not been persuaded to forego their advantages, the result might have been serious for the slender and, as yet, unseasoned reserves at the Italians' disposal. In any case, they would have been hampered with a troublesome campaign in a difficult country. Luckily, however—though not at the desire of the Italians, eager to redeem their defeat—a mission under Sir (then Mr.) Gerald Portal,* persuaded Johannis, who was naturally well disposed towards the British, and, at that time, saw his interest in standing well with them, to be content with the sanguinary protest his troops had already made. This gave the Italians time to strengthen their position, so that, after the death of Johannis, they not only kept what they had seized, but occupied various posts commanding the routes into the interior. The new King of Abyssinia—Mene-

lek of Shoa, the old rival of Johannis—anxious not to be opposed to the new factor which had complicated the old situation, received the Italian advances with cordiality and signed a treaty† of “mutual protection” with King Humbert. However, on finding it was so worded as to signify an Italian protectorate over Abyssinia, he promptly repudiated any such interpretation being put on it and before long the Italian suzerainty, which could at best be but nominal, was prudently abandoned, except in name.

Then the torrid tract which the Italians had grasped in the scramble was constituted the colony of “Eritrea,”‡ which by treaties with Great Britain extends over 56,000 square miles, with a population roughly estimated at 659,000 people, chiefly Abyssinians (perhaps the Ethiopians of the ancient writers), who speak a Tigré dialect corrupted with Arabic; Arabs from Yemen and Hadramaut; Gallas, Denakils and Somalis; Hindus from Surat, besides 600 Italians and other Europeans (exclusive of the garrison), and some of the Egyptian traders who remained after the officials left.

In 1891 a new agreement was signed, the terms of which were calculated to soothe the ruffled composure of King Menelek, with whom the masters of Massowah had no desire to quarrel. It guaranteed an Abyssinian loan of £160,000, and, though the suzerainty of Italy over Abyssinia was no longer claimed in so many words, the question rancoured in Menelek's mind, especially after the capture of Kassala had been represented to him by the French at Obock, as threatening his frontier. This jealousy went so far that in January, 1895, a large force of Abyssinian irregulars attacked the Italians on the Tigré plateau, and were repulsed.

Eritrea is autonomous and has the

* Concluded by Count Antonelli at Ujali, May 2nd, 1889.

‡ Or Erythrea, as it is sometimes spelt. This name is derived from the Italian “Eritrèa”—belonging to the Red Sea; the “Erythræan Sea” of the Ancients was the Red Sea, though the older geographers confounded with this the Persian Gulf.

* Portal: “My Mission to Abyssinia” (1892).

control of its own finances. These amount to about 2,000,000 lire—£80,000—to which the mother country contributes a large sum. But the trade in pearls and pearl-shells (chiefly in the Banians' hands) and the products of the pastoral country in its rear is increasing. Military railways—in all about 20 miles in length—connect Massowah with Saati and Arkiko, and there is a line of telegraph between Assab and Massowah. "Eritrean dollars" for circulation in the colony have been coined, though the money in circulation is mainly Maria Theresa thalers and the various denominations of Anglo-Indian and Egyptian money.

But if the Italians cling to Eritrea with a national fondness equalled only by the pride of the Belgians in the Congo, it is scarcely a source of strength to them. The summer heat is almost unendurable, even to men accustomed to southern suns; and, water being scarce, agriculture can be pursued only under the most primitive conditions, until vast irrigation works are constructed; while public health is always verging on the deplorable. Add to this the expense of keeping a garrison of between six and seven thousand men, docile and hard-working though they are, and the Italian pleasure in their costly toy may be realised. The Abyssinians carry on a guerilla warfare with the garrisons, while the Mahdists have again and again sent raiding parties into the Italian territory, a thousand of them being thoroughly defeated in December 1893, near Fort Agordat. In July, 1894, a detachment of Eritrean troops, under General Baratieri, pursued a party of these robbers with such eagerness that they scarcely noticed how far the chase had led them, until in the grey dawn they saw the Mahdist town of Kassala before them. Since July, 1885, it had been in Dervish hands and though often intended to be relieved by King Johannis and the Italians,* little had been heard of its fate since that fateful summer

day, nine years ago, when it was forced to surrender to the fanatics that had overrun the rest of the Soudan. After a sharp contest it was captured and the half-hearted garrison fled, much to the satisfaction of the few citizens who still inhabited what had once been a busy town, but had grown sick of the exactions of their new masters. Kassala was, therefore, the first part of the Soudan to be recovered and, from all signs, promises to be but the beginning of the end.† It may be that at Obdurman a great fear has passed upon the people, as the tale is told that the dreaded "Rumi" of ancient legends have again arrived in Egypt?

But the Italians were not content with Eritrea. In 1889 the Sultan of Obbia—or Hoppia—on the Somali coast, was induced to place his country, ex- The Somali country. tending for more than three degrees from north to south, under the protection of King Humbert, and a month or two later the Sultan of the Mijertine Somalis followed his example. Thus it fell out that before the close of the year, all the "Horn of Africa" from the Jub River, fifteen miles south of the equator, to the Mijertine Sultanate, more than 480 miles north of it—500 miles of sandy coast—came in this easy fashion within the Italian "sphere of influence." The difficulties of boundaries being settled with the Imperial East Africa Company,‡ another cession,§ this time by the Sultan of Zanzibar, gave to Italy all the Somali coast mentioned from Obbia to the Jub mouth.

Italy, which came last, thus fared not very badly in securing 602,000 square miles of Africa, with over 600,000 souls, including those wild Gallas and Somalis hitherto the terror of travellers and eastaways, but who

† Haneuse, "Notes sur Erythrée" (*Bull. Soc. Roy. Belg. Geog.*, 1893, pp. 42-74); Bettini, "Itinerarii da Asmara verso Sud del Cap" (*Bol. Soc. Geog. Italiana*, 1893, pp. 109-121. In this journal most of the Italian explorations of Eritrea and Somaliland are noticed; Schweinfurth, *Verhand. ges. Erdkunde Berlin*, 1874, p. 379; Taramelli and Bellio: "Geografia e Geologia dell' Africa" (1890), etc.

‡ By a treaty signed March 24th, 1891.

§ August, 1892, the treaty coming into force in September, 1893.

* In 1890 Italy proposed to occupy it; but for some reason, which seems no longer operative, Great Britain (or Egypt) refused her consent.

acted with extreme prudence as soon as they found that even in Somaliland discretion is the better part of valour.

The Italians, however, displayed in their relations with Britain just a little of that subtlety

for which
A question of
boundaries. the novelists

have always given them credit. Like the Dutch of a former generation, they were so prone to "give too little and ask too much" in the matter of boundaries that in 1894 a final division of Somaliland between Britain and them had to be settled by formal compact. This bargain was the theme of some friction, so far as the French are concerned. But, at all events, it ended the last difficulties between the British and Italians in that part of Africa.

By this arrangement the British sphere was marked on the east by the forty-eighth degree of east longitude, and on the south by the eighth degree of north latitude, though in that quarter, with the exception of Faf, on the Webbi Shebelyi, which the James expedition reached in 1885 (Vol. III., p. 229), the country is almost totally unexplored. Numerous Italian travellers (already noted) and an American, Dr. Donaldson Smith, are, however, doing their best to redeem it from this discredit.

In the west the line takes an irregular course, so as to exclude from the British sphere the village of Gildesa and the territory of the Girri and Jarso Bartari, Rer Ali, and other tribes. As Zeila, Berbera, and Bulhar—the keys of the Somali country, and the only ports of any consequence along the whole of that barren coast of more than

1,100 miles—are still in British possession, it is clear that for once in an African "deal" the North has not come off worst in a war of wits with the South. However, as Aden, on the opposite Arabian shore, is, to a large

extent, dependent for its supplies on these places, it was essential that they should remain under the control of the Power holding that important fortress town. So long as Egypt possessed them the British were not likely to be troubled on that score. But on their abandonment in 1884, to ensure their not being occupied by the hungry lords of worthless Obock, Britain most reluctantly was compelled, out of self-defence, to extend her responsibilities to the Somali coast. Harar (Vol. II., p. 51) is understood not to be formally



ABYSSINIAN WOMAN OF TIGRE COUNTRY.

(From a Photograph by Dr. G. Schweinfurth.)

within Italian control. However, ever since 1886, when King Menelek, then of Shoa, took forcible possession of the place and its dependencies from Abdilli, the last Amir, who was responsible for the cowardly murder of the Italian expedition under Count Porro in April of that year, the trade between it and Aden has been almost entirely in the hands of Italian merchants.

The traffic, consisting of coffee, hides, ostrich feathers, ivory, and the like, also finds its outlet at Zeila and Berbera;

and, under more peaceful conditions, is likely to increase, though most of the land, especially that near the coast, is far from fertile. The Mijertine country—forming the north-east "horn of Africa"—is, however, more promising. It was known to the ancients as the "Regio Cinnamonifera," and, though cinnamon does not grow

Traffic and
resources.

there,* still carries on a considerable business in myrrh, frankincense, and other aromatic gums, besides gum-arabic from the ports of Bandar Alulah and Bandar Moraiyah. Elephants are found often in numbers † within forty or fifty miles of the coast; fibrous plants exist in great variety, and, besides lithographic stone of excellent quality, in the hills parallel to the shore numerous mineral springs abound, which, if offensiveness is any criterion of their curative properties, must soon prove potent rivals to the more accessible ones of Germany.‡ And, possibly, gold and other metals will before long render the latest Italian annexations more valuable than their first handfuls in the scramble for Africa.

* Herodotus and the old geographers no doubt included this part of Africa in Arabia, and finding cinnamon among the articles brought by the Arab traders from Ceylon classed it as a production of their country.

† Wolverton: "Four Months in Somaliland" (1894). Prince Ruspoli was killed by an elephant in the course of an expedition in the direction of Lake Rudolf (1894).

‡ *Pall Mall Gazette*, June 18th, 1894.

Meanwhile, all this scrub-covered, sandy, robber-haunted mountain and plain is a severe strain on the finances of a kingdom not so prosperous as her position renders necessary. As trading centres, Somaliland and Gallaland can never be of prime importance, while the Italian posts must suffer by competition with Great Britain and even with France. Abyssinia is not likely to fall into the possession of the masters of Massowah; and even yet there has not been an attempt to assert the shadowy protectorate which, without quite abandoning, Italy has repeatedly toned down to a colourless hue. But, admitting Abyssinia to become as much an Italian country as Tunis is a French one, it is too poor to support a large population; so that colonisation is not to be looked to, while the "better-pastured" regions which the Italian explorers tell of in the interior of Somaliland are, for reasons connected with distances and the Somalis, not accessible to this generation of Europeans—if at all.



RESIDENCE, MASSOWAH.

(From a Photograph by Dr. G. Schweinfurth.)

CHAPTER XVI.

A RANSACKED CONTINENT: THE HINTERLANDS: CONCLUSION.

A Busy Century—Africa no Longer with Huge Blanks—Difficult to Cross the Continent without Intersecting some Prior Route—The Journeys of Johnston, Décle and von Götzen—Current Explorations—The Old and the New Africanist—Travelling “in the Interest” of Annexationists and Concessionnaires—The Explorer Passing Away, and the Exploiter and Scientific Surveyor Taking his Place—Troubles with the Native Races—A Long Series of Wars in Prospect—The Arabs—Religious Fanatics—The Senusi and the Mahdists—The Last Native States in South Africa—The Annexation of Pondoland—Description of the Country—What Befel Swaziland—The Extension of the Transvaal—The Amatongas and Their Country—The “Hinterlands” and the Disputes to which they have Given Rise—The Congo State and Katangaland—Thomson’s, Sharpe’s and Stairs’ Journeys—The Last of Msiri—The Anti-Slavery and Anti-Arab War—Van Den Kerckhoven’s Expedition—Other Belgian Expeditions in the Direction of Tanganyika—Defeat of the Arabs and Capture of New Strongholds—The Nile is Reached—The “Lado Incident”—Treaty between Great Britain and the Congo States—Modified at instance of Germany—French and British Frontier Disputes—The Niger and Lake Tchad Basin—Missions of Crampel, Dybowski, Mizon, Monteil and Maistre—British Colonies Cut off from the Hinterlands by French Soudan—Conquest of Dahomey—Liberian Treaty—Timbuctoo under the French—The Sahara and Touat Oases—The Future of Africa—Is it to be for the Mixed Races or for the Whites—for the Northerners or the Latins of the South?—The End of Our Story, but not of Its Theme.

“THE white man,” it was the opinion of Victor Hugo in 1879, “has made a man of the black; Europe will make a world of Africa.” How far the first part of this dictum is true need not be discussed: rum and gunpowder are not among the factors for civilisation. Nor are slavery and the slave-hunter, though it has been contended that American slavery was a needful link in the development of the negro. “It had the same historic place in civilising him as feudalism with the Caucasian. It controlled him in the interval between barbarism and freedom.”* But the second is true. The Europeans are making a world of Africa, not always, be it said, for the African, yet, as in the case of the missionaries, often without any other thought than his benefit. How this has been accomplished, or how aimed at, has been the theme of these volumes.

The story has been a long and chequered one. But the exploiting of the continent once begun, the work has gone on so rapidly that it is sometimes difficult to follow it. Even in the few years that have elapsed since this narrative commenced, Africa has to all intents

and purposes been taken out of the province of the explorer. There is, no doubt, still plenty of work for the geographer to accomplish. But, compared with his predecessor, the unknown has become sorely circumscribed. Instead of almost any route leading into a land of strange tribes and barbaric kings, the would-be explorer who has been born too late to have his name linked with great discoverers is encouraged to essay the ransacking of the still uncharted country of the North-East. Grixoni, Bottego, and a number of other Italians (Vol. III., p. 231), have done much to make this region their own—scientifically. The two former ascertained, in 1892, that the Ganale Guracha was a tributary of the Jub, and in 1893 Bottego sighted the highlands around Mount Fakeo (10,000 feet high), while Grixoni followed the course of the Havata and the Dau until the latter joined the Jub near Logh. Beyond the Mount Fakeo highlands are Lake Zuai, the unexplored River Omo, and the countries of Enarea and Kaffa, and the head waters of the Sobat—a region little known and most interesting. Indeed, from Ankobar to Lake Rudolf, and from the Sobat to the sources of the Jub, are areas that are

* General Glen, in Mr. Perry Noble’s “Report of the Chicago Congress on Africa” (1893).

still likely to yield good results to the explorer, and that may possibly, with the eagerness now bestowed on any blank track, be before long removed from the list of geographical opprobria. Counts Hoyos and Coudenhove penetrated, in 1894, from Berbera by Milmil to the Webbi Shebeyli, and among the many sportsmen who have flocked to Somaliland Messrs. Lowther and Vandeleur have traversed the country from Berbera to Abasa and Hargeisa.

On the other hand, vast tracts once unknown are now dotted with camps and stockades, and journeys which a few years ago would have commanded attention have ceased to be more remarkable than the Grand Tour of Europe a couple of centuries ago, or a ride over America before the Pacific Railroad was built. Even a march across Africa is nowadays scarcely worthy a paragraph in the newspaper. Trivier's (Vol. III., p. 76) was the last we have thought worthy of noticing, and, indeed, it was the last, until recently, of the slightest geographical importance. In the colonial portions of South Africa, to travel from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic, or the reverse, is quite in the way

of the hunter's, or trader's, or "trekker's," or prospector's business.

Dr. James Johnston, of Jamaica, accompanied by several negroes of that island, crossed the continent from Benguela to Quillimane on the line already made so familiar by various other travellers* (Vol. III., pp. 2-15). He first took the route to the Barotse Valley by way of Bihé and, after traversing Bechuana- and Mashona-lands, crossed the Zambesi, visited Lake Nyassa and finally, on October 10th, 1892—seventeen months after leaving Benguela—reached Chindé in an extremely bad temper with missionaries, the South Africa Company, and the masters of Nyassaland, if one may judge from the pessimistic terms in which they are referred to.

M. Lionel Décle, a Frenchman who had

* Johnston: "Reality *versus* Romance in South Africa" (1893).

travelled much in India and Japan, starting in 1891 from Cape Town with the other members of a "Mission scientifique," proceeded to the Zambesi Falls and the Southern part of the Barotse country, by a track somewhat different from that usually followed. From Senna he came to Blantyre, and by the Nyassa-Tanganyika Lakes to Ujiji, where he arrived in June, 1893. Starting from this now familiar centre, where Livingstone was "lost" (Vol. II., pp. 260), he reached Uganda and Unyoro by a route considerably north of that previously followed by travellers. Thence the Indian Ocean at Mombasa was attained by a road so often tramped that it is unnecessary to particularise it. This, it may be claimed, was the first time that Africa has been "crossed" from its most southern point, as far as the lake sources of the Nile under the first degree of North latitude. The feat, it is true, had been once before undertaken by Mr. Montagu Kerr (Vol. III., p. 15), but he returned after reaching the southern end of Lake Nyassa. M. Décle during his long journey did not, however, penetrate much unknown country. It was too late for that, though every now and again he passed through little areas not laid down on any map—imperfect and at best sketchy, as is most of African topography. But he took a large number of photographs and anthropological notes, so that in some degree he earned for his long tramp the scientific stamp which, in the lack of great tracts of new country to be ransacked, is imperatively demanded from the modern traveller who expects any higher rank than that of a glorified tourist.

At the close of 1894, news reached Europe of a much more interesting transit of the continent by a wealthy German nobleman. Starting from the East coast in 1893, Count von Götzen marched with a numerous following by way of Usukuma, to the south of Victoria Nyanza. Then proceeding through Ruanda, he travelled along the Lowa to the Congo,

Lionel Décle:
From Cape
Town to
Mombasa.

Count von
Götzen: From
Mombasa to
Matadi.

taking a course through the great forest considerably to the south of Mr. Stanley's. When the Congo was reached the perils of his journey were, unlike those of the first explorer of the upper waters of this flood, all but over, the voyage to Matadi being as tame as steamer could make it. The German's tramp, though unfortunately too late in the day to ruffle the placidity of the geographical world, is, however, not without scientific interest. The exploration of the Lowa is a

by Dr. Baumann to be only another temporary expansion of a river.

We have become, in truth, *blasé* on the subject of African exploration. The travellers on a continent no longer "dark" have been so many, so industrious, ^{The explorers of 1894.} and so bold that they have spoilt us for appreciating discoveries compared with which the utmost which the most successful of Arctic and Antipodean expeditions bring back is insignificant. Thus, Herr Neumann,

another of the many scientific German travellers who have put their accomplishments at the disposal of Africa, during 1893 and 1894, ransacked much of the country around Victoria Nyanza. He ascended Doenyo Ngai, north of Lake Mandara, a volcano which, according to native report, has been in eruption during the present century, and proposed to continue his zoological investigations in Uganda and the vicinity of Mount Ruwenzori.† America, also, is contributing to the exploration of a land better known, indeed, than some parts of that continent. In addition to Mr. Astor Chamber, whose splendidly equipped expedition had been postponed from causes



SOUTH AFRICA : TOWN HALL, DURBAN.

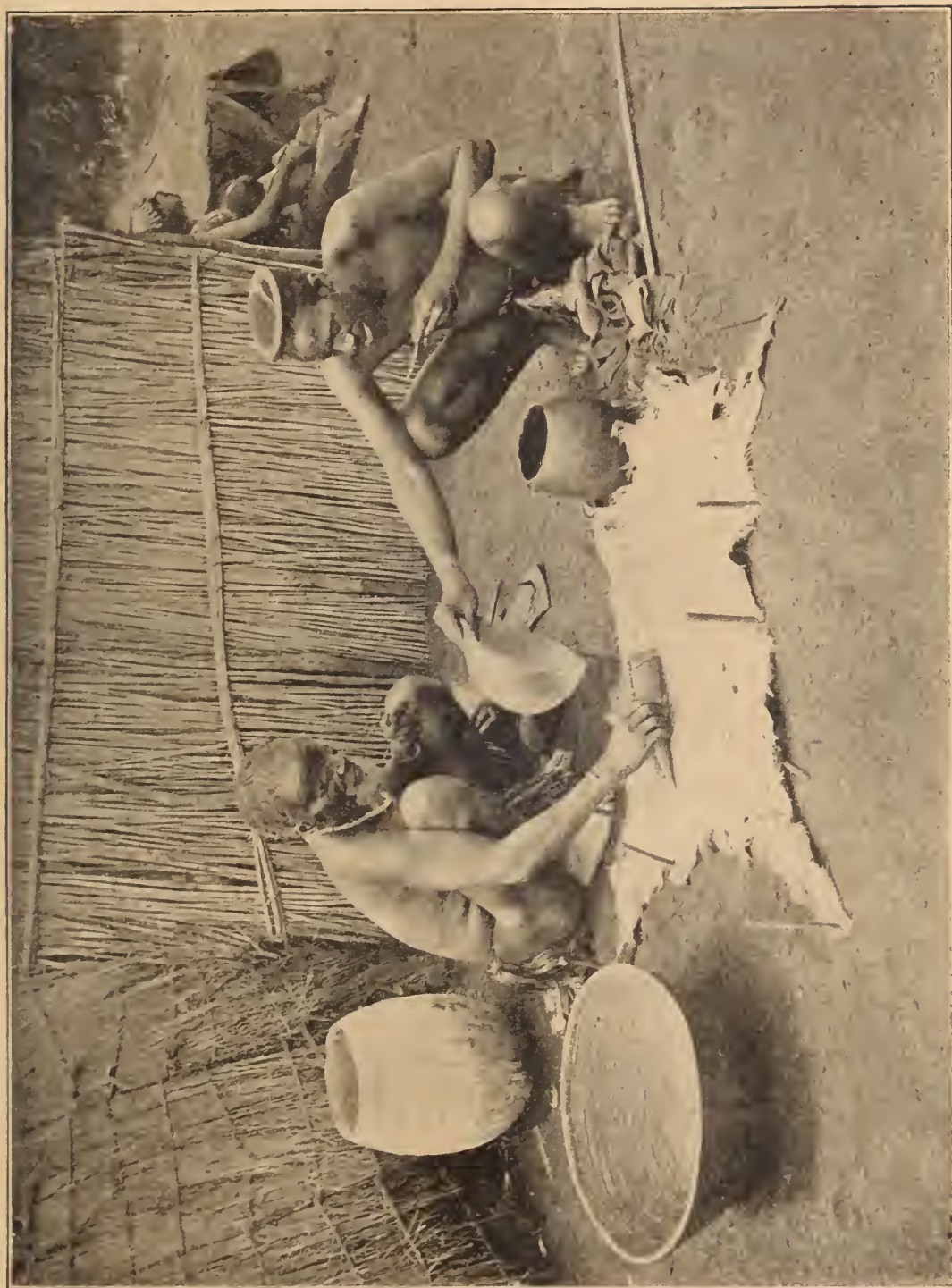
(From a Photograph by J. E. Middlebrook, Kimberley.)

bit of pioneer work. As might have been expected, traces of volcanic action were noticed all round Victoria Nyanza, and a lake—Mohazī, 30–50 miles long—was sighted to the south-west of Mount Gurin. "Kirunga cha gongo," the most western peak of the Ufumbiro Mountains was found to be an active volcano, 11,220 feet high. The Lake Kivu of Speke turned out to be not much smaller than Albert Edward Nyanza and Lake Ozo, "reported by Arabs" to Stanley as existing on the head waters of the Lowa River, proved to be the enlargement of a stream,* just as "Lake" Alexandra or Akanyaru was shown

already explained (Vol. III., p. 234), and Dr. Donaldson Smith (p. 272), Mr. Mohun, the United States Consul to the Congo State examined the country between Kasongo's (Vol. II., p. 278) and the junction of the Lukuga, and erased from the map another lake—the Urengé of Livingstone and the Lanji of Cameron. M. le Marinel has mapped the Oubangi Rapids, M. de la Kethulle its tributaries and the country lying between it and Darfur, and the Nile Basin, while it is hoped this part of the geographical loot of the "Arab War" (p. 288) will make the world more familiar with the vast region between the Upper Congo and the

* *Verhandl. der Gesell. für Erdkunde zu Berlin.* Bd. XXI., No. 8; *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, Nov. 1st., 1894.

† *Petzermann's Geographische Mittheilungen*, Nov. 1894.



SOUTH AFRICA: ZULU PREPARING A SKIN FOR WEAR.
(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Fernyhough, F.R.G.S., Pietermaritzburg.)

Tanganyika Lake basin. Baron von Uechtritz and Dr. Passarge in 1893-94 reached the Benué from the Cameroons Coast, and sailed down the Niger, while the Brothers Conran's surveys are expected to render the colonists better acquainted with the Hinterland of the Cameroons.

The French, ever active, have supplemented M. Dybowski's exploration of their portion of the Congo country by M. Barrat's journey to Francville, to the middle Ogowé, and over the "Sierra del Crystal" to Libreville on the Gaboon (p. 47). Nevertheless, as Baron von Schele's journey to Lake Nyassa from the coast and thence by a new route to Kisha, showed the official Germans on the opposite shore are not less active than their more erudite countrymen.*

The old explorer, to whom every day revealed a new race and who returned after years of absence, during which as little news from him reached civilisation as if he had been locked in the Polar ice, is passing away. Burton, Baker, Grant, and Cameron have all died since the first lines were written of a work to which one of them contributed, and the others intended to do so had they lived long enough. In their places have come young men, who essay adventures with all the enthusiasm and courage of their predecessors, and are in addition endowed with accomplishments which seldom fell to the lot of the old-fashioned pioneer. Every mile is laid down by the most careful observations, and the plants, animals, soil, and people studied with a minuteness unknown in "the sixties." Alongside, however, of the most recent scientific travellers—of whom England has supplied good examples (1895) in Mr. Scott-Elliot, who is camped on Ruwenzori, Mr. Coryndon, who has taken up his quarters at Ujiji, Dr. Gregory and Mr. Hobley, who have added so notably to our knowledge of the physical geography of East Africa†—the latest development of African exploration

has raised up a less acceptable roamer of the dark continent. This is the political traveller, who travels "in the interest" of annexationists and concessionnaires. Instead of taking, as Lord Rosebery has bewailed, "his life and some preserved meats in his hand," this modern type of explorer dives into the wilderness laden with flags and blank treaties ready for the signatures of thirsty kings who love gin but cannot write. The result has been trouble, suspicion, and heart-burning unknown in the days when amateur diplomacy was never dreamt of by the Parks and Barths, Spekes and Livingstones, who would as soon thought of distributing political pocket handkerchiefs in return for concessions as of bartering Hamburg vintages for the African's birthright.

But even the annexationist agent in advance is finding his occupation gone. A few sovereigns, like the Sultan of Morocco and his Imperial brother of Turkey, are still left in possession of their share of the continent, though not without much nibbling at it by the greedy Giaour. Yet the last of the Barbary States cannot long escape the clutches of the "Christian Powers,"—using that term in its political sense. Nearly every other scrap of coast-lying territory has been either formally absorbed or what is facetiously known as "protected," and already the stronger of their white masters, having ceased to fear any opposition from the black man, display an evident desire to snarl over the division of the plunder.

By this time, however, the natives have begun to realise what the cheap champagne and the parchments to which they put their marks meant and are not enamoured of their discovery.

Certain white men, whose names they do not recollect, talked them into doing something which they invariably affirm not to have been the same that was read out of the paper to which they affixed their crosses. Then, when the liquor is all drunk and the rifles are out of order, and the soldiers' coats in rags, they find that they have sold their heritage and

The old and the new explorers of Africa.

The black man's heritage.

* *Geographical Journal*, January, 1895, p. 50.

† Gregory, *Geog. Journal*, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1894; Hobley, *Ibid.*, Aug., 1894; Eckersley, *Ibid.*, Jan., 1895.

put their necks under the foot of a stranger, who decrees hut taxes, disarmament and the like, over which they are not more enthusiastic than are the English at home on the subject of the income tax, or than Ireland is regarding the Act which makes a privilege of a blunderbus.

It is idle to tell so illogical a person about the necessity of governing him, and the blessings of civilisation. All the civilisation he cares for may be got round the mission stations, if he is prone to books, or can be bought by the pint if his ambition soars no higher than to get drunk. And as for order and good government, he can generally secure all that he desires by the assegai and the knobkerry, and considers it hard that he cannot kill his game or his enemy with the weapon which is most effectual. All this is no doubt very sordid. But we have to deal with a poor fellow who has had little but rude liberty to inherit, and feels murderous when he finds that he has

parted with the title-deeds of a territory of which his fathers were in possession when England, France, Portugal, and Germany were Roman provinces. The instinct of such an irate savage is to fight, and his fate, after a few fusillades, to emerge from the bush fewer and sadder, if not wiser, at learning that his latter end is worse than his first. Great Britain's experience has been, or will be, that of all her rivals in Africa. France has had to fight for every rood of French Africa. Portugal has seldom been free of hostilities with the

natives of her possessions and even in 1894-5 had to face swarms of Zulus who, incensed beyond endurance at the high-handed acts of officials whom three centuries have not taught tact, forced her to defend her almost defenceless town Lourenço Marques, the terminus of the railway from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay. As for the Germans, they have been rarely at peace since they acquired

their colonies on the east and west coasts; and Italy, also, has realised that the Abyssinians—and, it may be, the Somalis before long—regard her cantles of the Red Sea Coast as so much of "Africa irredenta." Nor, it is unnecessary to remind the readers of these pages, has Spain become an African power, even on the modest scale she is nowadays, without some warlike protest on the part of prior occupants that she is there without having been invited. Even Turkey has not been permitted to hold her share of Africa without repeated rebellions by those who con-

sidered they had a better right to it. Egypt and the Soudanese need only be mentioned. The Arabs have frequently revolted. During the days when he held Algeria and Tunis the Grand Seigneur was never undisputed lord much beyond the range of his guns, and to this day the Tripolitan tribes near the Sahara are almost in a condition of chronic outbreak. Indeed, at Jaghbub, on the borders of the Libyan Desert, near the oasis of Siwah, is one of those Khouan, or half political half

Religious
fanatics :
the Senusi.



SOUTH AFRICA : THE YUCCA GLORIOSA IN FLOWER.

(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Ferneyhough.)

religious fraternities (Vol. III., p. 95) that have always exercised a potent influence in Northern Africa. This is the Senusi (Senû-

Mahdists in the Soudan, and again and again it has been rumoured that the Jaghubub fanatics were preparing to march against the



SOUTH AFRICA : VIEW OF DURBAN FROM THE BLUFF, WITH BEREA IN THE DISTANCE.

(From a Photograph by J. E. Midd'ebrook, Kimberley.)

siya), named after its founder, Mohamed el-Senusi, who came originally from Mostaganem, in Algeria, and after some persecution by the official heads of Islam fled to the present seat of his sectaries. No European traveller has as yet been permitted to see it for himself. But by all account, this asylum, built in a grove of date palms, has attracted a large number of devotees, besides thousands of pilgrims and other visitors, who halt there on their way to and from Mecca. In every part of the Mohammedan world the Senusi have sanctuaries or agents, and it is said that the head of the sect—the son of the founder—has assumed the title of “Mahdi,” and accumulated arms to commence a “jihad,” or holy war, against the unbelievers. Of late, however, the Senusi's attention has been divided by the proceedings of the rival

Omdurman ones. Nevertheless, since the first enthusiasm created by the Dervish reconquest of the Egyptian Soudan has passed away, the Senusi, in spite of their inactivity, have acquired more influence than ever. Their connections are far-reaching, and travellers in the Sahara have repeatedly found their progress stopped by the subtle influence of this fraternity. It is said they are more favourable to the English than to any other “infidels.” But this must be only a comparative hate, since every unbeliever is loathsome to them. Even the Turks are scarcely regarded as sufficiently strict in the observances of their common religion to escape the charge of being renegades from the Faith. In 1882—which was the beginning of the 14th century of the Hegira, or Flight of Mohammed from Mecca (which forms the Moslem Era from which

time is computed), it was expected by his sympathisers that the Jaghbub prophet would make some movement. As yet, however, he has not stirred, though, as most of the Tripolitan and many of the Tunisian, Moroccan, and Algerian sheikhs are in direct connection with the Senusi, it is quite certain that even if they do not go to war with the Turks, any change in the mastership of Tripoli will be the signal for a harassing jihad against the newcomers. It is even possible that the capture of Timbuctoo by the French may yet cause another wild outburst of fanaticism in Central Africa, which within the last three hundred years has been the scene of so many similar revolutions.*

If fighting with African tribes nearer the coast has partially abated—and with recent memories of hostilities against those of the Gambia and the Niger still fresh it would be

natives have been crushed or driven into the back country, and the only reason why the more primitive tribes towards the interior do not fight is that they and the whites have still in most cases to come into collision. For wherever the inland black has had a chance of trying conclusions with the coast-holding white, he has never failed to embrace the opportunity, heedless of the experience of his neighbours who have ventured on interposing a dam of sand against the rolling flood.

The last—or almost the last—portion of the African coast which formally passed from under native control, was in South Africa. Pondoland (p. 110) had never been recognised as an independent region. Gradually contracted until it comprised only a small part of the country which was originally known by that name, even that was in March 1894

The fate of
Pondoland



SOUTH-EAST AFRICA: VILLAGE OF NEWALA, YAO COUNTRY

(From a Photograph by the Universities Mission to Central Africa.)

rash to affirm that we have seen the last of them—it is simply because the recalcitrant

* Duveyrier, *Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie Com. de Paris*, 7^e sér. t. v. pp. 145-226; Longo, *L'Esploratore* an. viii., p. 121; D'Estournelles, *Revue des Deux Mondes*,

annexed to Cape Colony without a shot being fired or a blow struck. The chief discontented was the sister colony of Natal, March, t. lxxiv. p. 100; Playfair: "Bibliography of Tripoli and Cyrenaica" (*Roy. Geog. Soc.*), 1889, etc.

which considered that she ought to have been the residuary legatee of this section of South Africa.

Not very important in itself, the story of Pondoland and its absorption very aptly illustrates the difficulties which native states surrounded by white ones entail, and the absolute necessity which occurs sooner or later for withdrawing their autonomy. At first Sigcau, the principal Pondo chief, was inclined to "give himself airs." Mr. Stanford, who had been despatched as the High Commissioner's agent, was told that he must come to the potentate's "great place," that the chief must have a fortnight to consider the proposal, and generally that his fall must be broken as gently as possible. For a time, indeed, it was feared that force would be necessary, and a military expedition was actually on its way when Sigcau suddenly realised his position and intimated that he submitted to annexation most "cheerfully," so long as the country was governed as a whole. The effect of this stipulation was to embrace Western Pondoland in the arrangement. This district, though nominally belonging to Sigcau, as "paramount chief," has, since 1878, been under Cape control, and was ruled by Nquliso, a suffragan chief, who, with his son, misruled most royally. However, Nquliso was willing to abandon power. Sigcau being too fat to travel, Major Elliot had to carry the deed of submission to the portly chief's kraal. The minor potentates also accepted the settlement, according to which they were to receive salaries and a portion of the taxes, as well as of the fines imposed by the Court of Native Appeal. A more popular concession, so far as the Pondo people are concerned, is that there will be no hut tax, and for the present—that is to say, until the Government sees how they will behave themselves—the tribesmen will not be disarmed. The country will, however, be "governed as a whole."

Annexation of the Transkei territories has been going on so steadily during the last twenty years, that the region now incor-

porated is about the last of independent Kaffraria within the boundaries of Cape Colony. Originally about sixty-five miles long and half as wide, large districts were incorporated in 1884 and 1887, while the part at the mouth of the St. John's River, which flows through it, was in 1878 purchased from the then paramount chief Umquikela, father of Sigcau, who was subsequently deposed by the British Government for various breaches of treaty engagements. Not many years ago the large area now divided into Griqualand East, Tembuland, Transkei, and Pondoland was the home of a great independent nation known as the Ama-Pondo, so called from one Pondo, a former king, and more familiarly known as Pondos. But it is now, owing to tribal conflicts, inhabited by a sparse migratory population of more than half a million, the last of whom were, whether they cared for that status or not, elevated to the full rank of British subjects. Indeed, before it was annexed, Griqualand East was almost depopulated, and was officially described as "No-man's-land," the Griquas—a tribe of "half-breed" Hottentots—being emigrants from the Orange Free State under their chief, Adam Kok, on whose death, in 1876, the district was created an English magistracy. Tembuland and the Transkei, now provinces of Cape Colony, are occupied by a section of the Pondo people called Tembus, who, but for the protecting hand of the British Government would gradually have become extinct through their endless civil broils and wars with neighbouring tribes.

In time, therefore, Pondoland proper, or the Eastern division of what remained of the once extensive region known under that name, came to be the only portion even nominally independent. Never very well ordered, it rapidly lapsed into anarchy and bloodshed after the death of Mrs. Jenkins, the widow of a missionary, who for years had exercised a quiet, motherly influence over a people whom neither her husband nor his successors ever succeeded in Christianising to any notable extent. At no time bearing the

best of reputations, the Pondos soon developed all the worst qualities of the Zulu race, from an invading branch of whom they sprang. "Witch smelling" was the excuse for wholesale murders of the most cruel description, until these atrocities, civil war, and a sullen defiance of the warnings of the High Commissioner, swiftly filled the Pondo cup to the brim. Sigean, presuming on his supposed impunity as a semi-dependent chief, soon made Pondoland a scandal to Kaffraria. Murderous raids by the followers of one chief against those of a rival became so frequent that it was impossible any longer to treat these affairs as mere internal politics. Umhlangaso Jenkins—his father's former Prime Minister—headed a powerful faction against Sigean, who carried the guerilla war into Natal, where his enemies took shelter. Numbers of battles were fought, some of them close to Umtati, on the river of the same name which forms the southern border of Pondoland, and at Fort Harrison, on the St. John, where troops or police were stationed, murders were of almost daily occurrence. Cattle stealing has always been a profitable industry on the frontier of this native Alsatia. White men of indifferent or of the worst character have found here, as in every such Kaffir territory, a congenial home and, in spite of the Cape keeping a sharp look-out upon them, "gun-running," gin-selling and smuggling of all kinds have always flourished on the sea-board of the new annexation, under the auspices of this Caucasian scum. In short, there was nothing for it but to extend the white man's authority over this last stronghold of the black one. In the Cape such a step was naturally very keenly advocated and not always by disinterested individuals. Yet the authorities, though willing enough to see the end of these native broils, would gladly have postponed indefinitely what long experience showed to be inevitable. Happily the Pondos, numbering about two hundred thousand, and able, in extremities, to put twenty or thirty thousand fighting men into the field—or the bush

—saved the Government from the necessity of using force.

Pondoland is among the most beautiful and, it is believed, the richest regions of South-Eastern Africa. Lying immediately to the east of the Drakensberg Range, it is intersected by several rivers and their tributaries, flowing full all the year round. The voyager who sails close to the coast as he passes from East London to Durban by the local steamer, has ample opportunity for admiring the pleasant scenery which spreads before him like a panorama. It is a perfect fairyland of hills and rocks and water, and "the Gates" through which the broad, navigable St. John's River flows into the Indian Ocean are especially picturesque. They are two great rocks or cliffs, which are the first objects that strike the eye as the river is entered. From these hills, 1,800 or 2,000 feet high, the country extends inland in long stretches of dark palm and fern forest, until the eye takes in grassy uplands and the lines marking the course of streams flowing through fertile valleys. Yet little of this fine, healthy country is cultivated by the nominal owners, and the whites who ventured to settle in it while under the unstable rule of Sigean were few in number. Close to "the Gates," on ground purchased from the Pondos by the Cape Government, a thriving little village has grown up, with a church, a gaol, and a fort; while Palmerton, close to Sigean's "great place," and formerly a mining settlement, is rapidly becoming a considerable town of traders and people who minister to the growing demands of the natives for articles of European manufacture. In addition to these settlers, there are at almost every Pondo kraal one or more enterprising "inerehants of the wilderness." The natives cultivate "mealies," or maize, and tobacco, and rear a few sheep and goats and a great number of cattle, on the splendid pasturage found all over the country. Most of them have horses also. Under better guarantees for life and property than Sigean—"the Spider"—could afford, Pondoland is

certain to have a prosperous future. The paramount chief, if a sovereign like Khama of Bechuanaland, or even like Cetywayo and Lobengula—both of whom were, with all their faults, strong men—might still have been trusted with the partial independence accorded him. But the liberty accorded to Sigcau developed into a licence which menaced the peace not only of his own country, but of the borders of Natal and the neighbouring Transkeian annexations. He was a very different kind of personage from the famous Bechuana and Zulu chiefs. Fairly intelligent, he has made little use of his gifts and, in his grotesque attire of a cast-off German uniform, purchased from a trader, looks—as a recent visitor describes him—every inch the savage still. In addition, his morals are decidedly Pondoish. He is intemperate, a practitioner of the worse Kaffir superstitions and uxorious to an extent of

sidering the life he led for some years at the hands of Umhlangaso and his followers we may almost credit that his “cheerful” acquiescence in annexation was more sincere than is believed. He might require to keep up a show of dignity. Yet a comfortable stipend, paid quarterly, and freedom from the fear of a rival’s assegai, must have been Paradise compared with sovereignty and Umhlangaso in the background.

Swaziland was in a somewhat different position. Nominally, at least, the Swazi were independent, though actually they were about as little so as the

What befel
Swaziland.

natives of any part of South Africa surrounded by white territory and practically “run” by white men could possibly be. Its area does not exceed 8,000 square miles, having been gradually pared by the Transvaalers, whose republic surrounds it on north, west, and south, the Delagoa Bay province of Portugal and the strip of country owned by the Amatonga Kaffirs shutting it



SOUTH AFRICA: VILLAGE OF MATSIENG, BASUTOLAND.

(From a Photograph taken for the Paris Society for Evangelical Missions.)

which even his countrymen scarcely approved. However, as a British pensioner, his private peccadilloes need not concern us. And con-

off from the sea. The population is about 60,000, and until recently was governed by the mother of the late king and by his widow,

her son being still under age. But in reality the governing power was a joint commission of Swazi, British, and Transvaalers, though this divided control was never intended to be more than provisional. For, as happened in

as payment for "damping" the Transaval "trek" into Mashonaland (p. 241) and as a bribe to permit the northward extension of the Cape Railways. On the other hand, the Swazi insist that their independence, such as it



SOUTH AFRICA : ARRIVAL AT SESHEKE OF MAKOATZA, AMBASSADOR OF KHAMA TO THE KING OF THE BAROTSE.
(From a Photograph taken for the Paris Society for Evangelical Missions.)

every native territory, the country had become a happy hunting-ground of concession-seekers and adventurers of every sort. Many of the mountain valleys are fertile and, in addition to its agricultural and pastoral capabilities, gold and coal exist in considerable abundance. The best part of these prospective riches was in the hands of Transvaal Boers. To them had been sold revenue rights, postal concessions, and mining concessions—in fact, they had mortgaged their country to the whites and especially to the South African Dutchmen. The Boers, indeed, claim that Swaziland was promised them by the British

was, had, in 1881, been guaranteed as a reward for keeping neutral, if not actively friendly, in the Zulu campaign and other disturbances on their borders — though, indeed, their services in this respect have been grossly exaggerated for political purposes.* At all

* See, on the Swazi side, Sir Ellis Ashmead Bartlett in the *Times* (London, Nov. 6th, 13th, 22nd and 27th), and on the opposite version of their services, Sir Evelyn Wood in the *Times* (Nov. 19th and 26th, 1894). Sir Evelyn affirms that not only did they not but never were, and never could have been, asked to help Britain against the Boers, but that the late Swazi king would have taken the Zulus' part had he not shrewdly seen that Cetywayo was attempting more than he could manage to carry out.

events, in the convention of 1884, the Swazi "independence" was fully recognised. Meanwhile, the Dutch "treks" into the country continued and threatened before long, in spite of conventions and "understandings," to absorb what remained of Swaziland after the steady filching which had been going on for years.

In this strait Sir Francis de Winton, who had been sent to report on the state of matters, recommended that the triumvirate of Boers, British and Swazis, already mentioned, should administer the country with equal power, so long as they did not meddle with strictly native affairs. This plan was put in force for the three years ending in 1893. But from the first it was a failure and before the first twelve months had closed the Boers were clamouring for its abrogation, though, indeed, the Dutch concessionnaires, or their agents, were about the only people who profited by this latest diplomatic invention to shirk public duty by a transparent compromise.

When the three years came to an end a modification of the convention was signed (November 8th, 1893), by which the Boers, without asking the natives' opinion, were given the right of negotiating a treaty of protection over Swaziland, subject (of course) to the usual condition about fair-play to the natives, and so forth—British responsibility for the cost of administering the government to cease on the 31st December, 1894.

Against this compact the Swazis and their English friends protested. A deputation was even sent to lay their case before Queen Victoria, to express their desire that Britain, if she could not take the country—as by the treaty of 1884 she could not—should at least prevent the Boers from doing so, on the plea that their independence had been promised and that Dutch rule in Africa really meant slavery to the natives. However, backed up by the influence of the Cape Government, who had bargained away the Swazis' liberty in return for favours by President Krüger, the inevitable soon happened, and about the last

semi-independent native principality in South Africa passed into the hands of the Boers by a compact salved with all manner of conditions regarding the welfare of the race whose freedom had been sold by those in whom they had placed reliance. Swaziland, it is said, was desired by the Boers quite as much for the eventual outlet which it may afford to the sea as for its own capabilities. This is doubtful. Amatongaland lies between it and the Indian Ocean and the sea is only approachable through this quasi-independent strip of swampy, fever-haunted country during the dry seasons. A railway would, no doubt, overcome some of these disadvantages, but it is questionable whether, even by the expenditure of more money than the thrifty Dutchmen will ever throw into it, Kosi Bay could be converted into a second-rate harbour. By the Convention of 1890 the Transvaal was, indeed, granted this bay and a connecting strip of territory through Swaziland. But as the Boers never took advantage of the concession, they are scarcely likely to do so now that the Transvaal is linked with Delagoa Bay by a railway.

The Amatongas have asked Great Britain to annex them. But it is improbable that the Boers will be deprived of that unprofitable piece of glory. With Delagoa Bay in Britain's possession, both Swaziland and Amatongaland would be worth holding. Delagoa Bay is, however, still Portuguese territory and is likely to continue so; and when its present owners wish to part with it the British right of preemption will not be lightly regarded. In short, the Boers, as a pastoral people, value Swaziland far more than the British do, and, the chances are, will make a better use of what is the last possible enlargement of the Transvaal. It must also be remembered that it will cost the republic a large sum to buy up the various concessionnaires before it is possible to carry on the government. Again, if Britain will respect her bargain any injustice can readily be checked, even if the Swazis do not take the law into their own hands. If not, it is better that British

responsibility should be reduced by this 8,000 square miles of South-east Africa.*

But if there are not more coast lands to quarrel over, the Berlin Conference left plenty of inland ones to afford work for the diplomatists. That famous, but somewhat ineffective, tribunal ruled that each power which possessed territory on the coast should also have a right to the "hinterland," or back country. But though it rudely marked out certain spheres of influence within which the game of intrigue was to cease, it also left large areas independent enough to give an infinitude of trouble to the European partitioners of Africa. For as the limit of the "hinterland" interiorly was not defined, the heart-burning began when the back country from east and west met, or that from the north came in contact with vague boundaries from the south. This was more especially the case when the disputed territory was a still unabsorbed inland native state. Then the bargain-making and plotting became brisk, and for years subsequent to the Berlin Conference provided ample work for delimitation commissions and the type of traveller whose baggage consists mainly of flags and treaties in blank. So far as the Italian, German, Portuguese, and British territories in east, south, or west Africa are concerned, their inland limits are now pretty well defined, the extent to which British East Africa shall stretch along the Upper Nile sources being the only difficulty of any moment.

But the troubles connected with the eastward boundary of the Congo Free State gave occasion for a great deal of diplomaey as late as the summer of 1894, and may ruffle the Foreign Offices of Europe long after these pages are in the hands of the reader. North and south this huge state was curbed by inter-

national treaties. But the easterly limit was more disputable. The Katanga country, or Msiri's (Msidi's) kingdom (Vol. III., p. 301), a savage monarchy, supposed to be rich in gold and copper, lay between the Congo State and the British South African territory north of the Zambesi. This Mr. Rhodes (pp. 250-252) coveted for the purpose of rounding off the already overgrown estate of the "Charterers" north of the Zambesi (p. 250). The King of the Belgians might possibly have proved not inimical to one of these "deals," in which the Cape Premier was so acknowledged a master. However, he preferred to obtain what he wanted by means of a treaty with its savage chief.

Accordingly, with that object in view, Mr. Joseph Thomson, accompanied by Mr. James Grant (son of the eminent explorer), was dispatched in 1890 to arrange matters. Their route lay up the Shiré, and thence to Lake Bangweolo. But though the intrepid travellers made many excellent geographical observations, they never reached Msiri's land to the west of Lake Moero (Mweru). Illness overtook the leader, and the end was that he had to return from a journey which modern familiarity with Africa has made less important than in Livingstone's day—and they halted close to his death-place—broken in health, though not in spirit.†

Nor was Mr. Alfred Sharpe (afterwards Deputy Commissioner of Nyassaland) more successful in his journey from the Shiré to Lake Moero and the Upper Luapula,‡ which he took in company with the late Mr. John Kydd, returning by way of Tanganyika and Nyassa. For promptly anticipating them, a Katanga Company was formed and the country annexed in the name of the Congo State. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Captain Stairs (Vol. III., pp. 31, 57, 75), who penetrated to his destination by way of

* At the final conference on the subject—when further guarantees for the good treatment of the Swazis were exacted—it was decided that they were to be allowed until May, 1895, to sign the cession of their country to the Transvaal: if not, the treaty would come into force without their formal acquiescence.

† Thomson, "To Lake Bangweolo and the Unexplored Region of British Central Africa" (*Geographical Journal*, February, 1893, pp. 90-121).

‡ *Geographical Journal*, June, 1893, pp. 524-533.

The Katanga country.

The "Hinterland" quarrels.

Bagamoyo. The proceedings of the syndicate sending him were scarcely in keeping with the philanthropic principles understood to have animated the founders of the Congo State. For the intention of the expedition was to secure the country "with or without Msiri's leave." But, as the wily old man declined to

venture* which reflected so little credit on all concerned.

The Congo State was bound by the stipulations of the Brussels Anti-slavery Congress in 1890, to do their best to crush the dealers in flesh and blood who haunted the upper waters of

The Congo Arab War.

the Congo and the "hinterland" between it and the Nile (p. 183)—a stipulation which was scarcely in keeping with the appointment of Tippoo Tib as governor of the Stanley Falls Station (Vol. III., p. 31). However, in ostensibly carrying out that agreement, the State troops, under Belgian officers, waged war through all the country between the Congo and Tanganyika, capturing Nyangwe (Vol. II., p. 272) and routing the other Arab slave-holds, until Rumliza, the Arab governor of Ujiji, under the Germans, though a notorious enemy of white men generally, was crushed in the more nefarious traffic which he carried on as the partner of Tippoo Tib.

These campaigns were, however, not carried on without reverses and even yet, though the country is supposed to be pacified, there are not lacking sage

men who foresee a determined stand by the Arabs and their allies against the sparse settlements of Europeans in the wide region in question.

Nor have the Belgians been using the mandate of Christendom entirely without ulterior intentions. The profound secrecy with which Captain van den Kerekhoven's expedition was despatched—it is now known

* Moloney : "With Captain Stairs to Katanga" (1893).



EAST AFRICA : MOSQUE, MOMBASA.

(From a Photograph supplied by the Imperial British East Africa Company.)

be wheedled out of his sovereignty, civilisation in Central Africa was advanced by Captain Bodson, a Belgian, shooting the king, being himself shot in return by a negro follower of the murdered chief, who, though not an amiable person—or, indeed, anything but a savage—was, after all, the master of his own house. Captain Stairs, we have already noticed, lost his life just as he was about leaving Africa after this miserable



SOUTH AFRICA: NATIVES SMOKING "ISANGU" OR "DAKKA" (Foot-note on p. 289).
(From a Photograph by Mr. G. T. Fernyhough, F.R.G.S., Pietermaritzburg.)

From Photo

to the basin of the Upper Nile—was not calculated to inspire confidence in the Belgians' frankness. This venture, which resulted in the death of the gallant leader while traversing the great forest described by Stanley, came into collision with Raschid, Muni Moharra, Sefu (a son of Tippoo Tib), and other Arab slave-raiders, and by the enmity it aroused in the Upper Congo country undoubtedly led

"Arab revolt," which has ever since almost entirely taken the place of the anti-slavery campaigns in the country west of the Tanganyika Lake.

That this warfare has been conducted with discretion few of those not directly concerned in making the best of a bad business will deliberately assert. Indeed many Europeans, who hate slavery as bitterly as ever the



EAST AFRICA: A MONSTER PYTHON.

(From a Photograph by Mr. Thomas Stevens.)

to the massacre of M. Hodister and his companions at Riba Riba, and to the so-called

Note to the Plate.—The pipe of the Kaffir is a species of hookah, and is called "igudu." It consists of a bullock's horn in which, about half-way up, is tightly inserted a hollow stick in a slanting direction, which reaches nearly to the bottom of the horn. This stick is surmounted with a bowl or pipe head made of a softly cutting green stone—"soap stone"—which is very heavy. The pipe being filled with "isangu" the horn is half filled with water, and the smoke is drawn up into the mouth as shown in the photograph. Several puffs are taken, until a volume is secured, which is retained for a time and partly swallowed. This soon produces spasms, followed by a violent fit of coughing that would kill any ordinary white man.—G. T. Ferraighough.

Belgian Anti-Slavery Society could, are not backward in declaring that the unwise conduct of MM. Joubert and Jacques, its agents on the lake, drove Rumaliza into hostilities against the Congo State. The straits to which Albertville—as their station on Tanganyika is named—was reduced, compelled an expedition, under Lieut. Long, to be sent from the East Coast. But when it had halted long enough to help the Germans against a native rising at Tabora, porters were not to be obtained. M. Delecommune, however, returning from Katanga and joining his men with those of the Anti-Slavery troops, inflicted a crushing defeat

on the Arabs, or rather on the mongrel rapscallions who bear that name, while a fourth detachment was despatched, under Captain Deschamps, by way of the Zambesi-Nyassa route, in April 1893. The massacre of the Hodister party had thus forced the Congo State to go further than it had originally intended, or at least afforded an excuse when it might otherwise have been more difficult to satisfy Europe. Hence the expedition of Baron Dhanis, which captured Nyangwe and Kasongo's, and, by a rapid series of victories, "crushed the revolt." At all events, the death of Muni Moharra and other important chiefs inflicted an irreparable blow on the slavers,* though he would be a sanguine man—or an ignorant—who should venture to prophesy the time when the most lucrative branch of African commerce will be extinct.

However, mingled with the news of these punitive and philanthropic wars, vague rumours—mere echoes at first, and then scraps still half mythical and disjointed—had been reaching Europe regarding the Upper Nile region, which had been closed to civilisation since its evacuation by Emin Pasha. The country, it was said, had been wasted by slave-hunters from the Upper Congo. Captain van den Kerckhoven was reported to have reached Lado and gained some successes over the Mahdists, under Fadl el Mullah; though the Belgian authorities were either ignorant of the facts of Kerckhoven's adventure, or preferred not to take the world into their confidence until the main object of his expedition was accomplished. Questions were repeatedly asked in Parliament whether the French, of all people, had reached the same goal, and in May, 1894, Major Owen, with a force from Uganda, was reported to have raised the British flag "without authority" at Wadelai, Emin's old headquarters. Kabba Rega, the Unyoro king, with whom we have been familiar ever since he harassed Baker, it is certain was defeated by this officer in December, 1893, and narrowly escaped capture,

a lesson, however, which did not prevent him next year from attacking Fort Hoima with disastrous results to his forces. Then on the 20th of May, 1894, Europe was startled by the announcement of a treaty between Great Britain and the Congo State which, for the first time in express terms, declared the Upper Nile portion of the abandoned equatorial provinces to be the "hinterland" of the British territory in East Africa. By this agreement the frontier between the Congo State and the British sphere north of the Zambesi was to follow a line running "direct from the extremity of Cape Akalunga, on Lake Tanganyika," at about eight degrees fifteen minutes South latitude, to the right bank of the river Luapula, at the point where it issues from Lake Moero. From this spot the frontier was drawn straight to the entrance of the river into Bangweolo, being, however, deflected so far to the south of Moero as to give the island of Kirwa to Great Britain. Thence the dividing line runs southwards, along the meridian, of the point where the river leaves the lake to the water-shed

The Upper Nile.



* The *Times*, October 23rd, 1893.

between the Congo and the Zambesi, which it follows until the Portuguese frontier is reached. So far, except that the Treaty more minutely defined the boundaries of the Congo State and Britain in Africa, no great change was effected. But the second Article of the Treaty was of infinitely greater importance. For it asserted not merely Britain's "sphere of influence" in, but her proprietorship of, all the region along the Albert Lake and the Upper Nile, and at the same time leased more than half of this vast district to the Congo State, on the condition that it should be occupied and administered by King Leopold or the Head of this virtual Colony.

The lease comprised the country situated on the west shore of Albert Nyanza immediately to the south of Mahagi, to the nearest part of the eastern frontier of the State. Thence the frontier of the tenancy was to run along the water-shed of the Congo and Nile to the twenty-fifth meridian, and along that meridian up to its intersection by the tenth parallel of North latitude; from that point it was to follow that parallel to a point to be determined, to the north of Fashoda, another of the old Egyptian posts. Finally, from this place it took the course of the Nile Valley to Lake Albert. The lease, though nominally for King Leopold's life, was to be valid as long as the Congo State continued independent or a colony of Belgium, as was also a lease from the Congo State of the "wasp's waist," a strip of territory extending from the most northerly post of Tanganyika to the most southerly point of Lake Albert Edward, for the purpose of keeping a trade road open between those lakes.

It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the compact. Its immediate effect was to throw on the Congo State the grave onus of re-opening the Soudan to civilisation, and to close all possible causes for dispute between Britain and the Belgians. There were many who might have preferred that the task of restraining the flood of barbarism which had surged over the Upper Nile Basin should be undertaken by Great Britain. But the

Government not having seen their way to incur this responsibility, they did the next best thing to it.

But from France difficulty was apprehended—Britain's amiable neighbours having for years past had but one policy in Africa—that of "pestering the English."

And in this the prophets of evil were not disappointed. Meanwhile, however, opposition proceeded from an entirely unexpected quarter. Germany received the news of the treaty in high dudgeon, as an unfriendly act to her. For some occult reason she preferred to have the Congo State—and possibly France, if her right of pre-emption ever become a reality—a neighbour, and therefore objected to Britain's lease of the "wasp's waist." The end was that, to avoid a quarrel out of all proportion to the *casus belli*, the offended dignity of the Kaiser was appeased by Great Britain renouncing the lease of the strip of territory between Lakes Tanganyika and Albert Edward. France, on her part, still further modified the treaty by obtaining from King Leopold, as sovereign of the Congo State, an agreement not to occupy the territory leased to him by Great Britain farther to the north than $5^{\circ} 30' \text{ N. lat.}$, thus effectually excluding Lado from occupation; in consideration of which France conceded a northern extension of the Congo boundary. From the junction of the Mboma with the Oubangi (Mobangi) this boundary follows the valley of the former river to its source, and thence the water parting between the basins of the Congo and the Nile to the eastern limits of the State in 30° east longitude.

But with perfidious Albion, France is understood still to have a settlement. The nation which occupied, with such extremely little scruple, Algeria and Tunis was shocked at the thought that the Soudan, which the Sultan of Turkey so readily permitted to be evacuated, should be bartered away by the power that prevented his Khedivate of Egypt from also falling into the clutches of the Dervishes. It is accordingly whispered that any day we may hear of a force from the French Congo seizing some position on the

Upper Nile as a political salve to the national conscience outraged by the presence of British troops on the lower banks of that historic river. If so, the State which the European Frankenstein created out of African barbarism will have served a poor purpose by helping the gratification of that elevated statecraft

which they depend for the best part of their prosperity, and to divert the native trade in the direction of the French possessions. In this perfectly legitimate rivalry they have been largely successful, owing to their colonial officers' activity and the liberal support they have received from the Government at home.



WEST AFRICA: WEAVING AND DYEING
ESTABLISHMENT, OGBOMOSHO, YORUBA.
(From a Photograph by the Rev. J. T. F. Halligey.)

which consists in one great power opposing whatever any other may propose.

Most of these Franco-British frontier and other disputes—Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Dahomey, Congo, Somaliland—have already been referred to. The majority are merely sores left open for the purpose of diplomatic advantage; and it is certain that not one of them need remain a cause of offence were both parties equally ready to resolve that they should be settled.

However, for long past, the main object of France in West Africa has been to shut off the British colonies from the "hinterlands," on

Of late years this policy has played a very active part on the Upper Niger and in the native kingdoms outside the frontier agreed on between Britain and France in August, 1890. The Upper Niger was already recognised as the proper sphere of the latter, and by no means neglected. But France had no intention of limiting her enterprise by the great bend of the river where the limit between her territory and that of the Royal Niger

**The Niger
disputes.**

Company had been drawn. Bornu, Lake Tchad, and the Central Soudan were her next Captain Binger,* in 1888-90, treaties, it is claimed, were made which established French



MAP OF AFRICA, SHOWING PROGRESS OF EXPLORATION. (By E. G. Rostenstein.)

objectives, in spite of the claims of the British Company to exercise a controlling influence in these regions. During a journey by

authority over the greater part of the country

* Binger: "Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi, 1887-90" (1892).

between the Upper and Lower Niger, as far east as Mossi, and as far south as the northern limit of the Gold Coast Colony. The compact of August, 1890, did not close this rivalry. By the agreement in question, Great Britain was free to advance into the Central Soudan, the boundary being an irregular line drawn from Say, on the river Niger, to Barrua, on the western shore of Lake Tchad. As Britain renounced all claims to the Niger between Say and Timbuctoo, it was understood that France would abandon any attempts to acquire influence south of the bounds noted.

In this hope the Niger Company was disappointed. For in the very year that the treaty had been signed Commandant Monteil made direct for Lake Tchad, travelling across the great bend of the Niger into Bornu, and endeavouring to make treaties wherever he went, though this country was within the British sphere of influence. In that year, also, Lieutenant Mizon (p. 187) entered the Niger on a shani scientific expedition, and, after obtaining the assistance of the Niger Company until his objects were plain, endeavoured to secure for France "hinterlands" already under British protection. Thus in 1890, and again in 1892, he declared that he had concluded treaties with the Sultan of Adamowa which gave to France a right to the country around the head-waters of the Benué, and onwards to Lake Tchad, though in reality the Niger Company's operations had extended over a considerable share of the region ruled by this surly magnate as a suzerain of Britain's ally the Emir of Sokoto. With the same end in view, M. Paul Crampel, using the Mobangi (Oubangi) tributary of the

Congo as a base, started in 1890 for the same objective; and, though disaster overtook him on the threshold of Baghirni, this misfortune did not deter M. Dybowski and M. Maistre from following in his footsteps in 1891 and 1892, reaching the Shari, in the close vicinity of Lake Tchad, any more than it did Commandant Monteil, from passing through Bornu to Tripoli in 1893 by the route so often traversed by previous travellers.*

A treaty concluded with Germany in November, 1893, gave the latter the whole of the region between the Niger Company's sphere and the western limit of the British sphere in East Africa, though it may be remarked that the German pioneers had given

their country quite as feasible claims to Adamowa as those put forward by France. But, France not taking kindly to this arrangement, the eastern half of the block in question was surrendered to her in February, 1894; and at this moment (5th February, 1895) a French force is advancing into the heart of the continent from the Mobangi River, with, it is believed, the Upper Nile as its goal.

Meanwhile, the Niger Company—through Mr. Tead—was carrying on surveys along the Niger and the Benué as far as Sokoto, and despatched, in the autumn of 1894, Captain Lugard in command of an expedition to Borgu west of the river, with the hope that he might ultimately arrive at Bornu. At the same time,

* "Harry Allis" (H. Percher, Editor of the *Journal Egyptien*): "À La Conquête du Tchad" (1891), and "Nos Africains" (1894)—works entirely uncritical, and in their political diatribes inaccurate, but useful for their extracts from official reports; Dybowski: "La Route du Tchad" (1893); Maistre: "La Mission Maistre" (*Tour du Monde*, 1893), and *Ann. de Géog.*, vol. iii., p. 64, etc.



COMMANDANT MONTEIL.
(From a Photograph by Panajou, Bordeaux.)

a French party under Captain de Cœur succeeded in reaching Borgu from the west, its aim being to make treaties without any regard to the fact that the British Company, by the agency of Mr. Ferguson and other officials, had entered into compacts with this country several years ago. However, to use the words of Sir George Goldie, France seems to hold that "every portion of Africa north of the Equator not actually secured by another Power, and some portions that are so secured, must be within the French sphere of influence." These questions being still in the diplomatic crucible—from which they may possibly emerge clarified of the political and personal dross which at present envelopes them—must be left without further discussion.*

But while France was thus pushing her way into the Upper Niger countries, on M. Challemeil-Lacour's principle of "taking compensation abroad for disaster at home,"

she was bent on crushing the ancient barbarism of Dahomey, a little more to the north. Its fate was always predestined, quite as much as was the eventual end of Cetywayo and Lobengula. But Behanzin—formerly known as Prince Kondo—the successor of Gele-Gele (the "Gelele" of English visitors), while quite as arrogant and barbarous as his father, lacked the prudence of that savage and the moderate amount of wisdom which consisted in keeping faith with his powerful neighbours. Gele-Gele had, no doubt, talked largely of what he would do

if the French retained Kotonou and continued their "protectorate" of Porto Novo and of its *fainéant* chief, "le roi Toffa." Indeed, Gele-Gele went so far, in 1890, as to raid Porto Novo and other settlements, and to hold, as a virtual prisoner, M. Bayol, Governor of the Rivières du Sud, who had visited him with the object of remonstrating. though, as he entertained his involuntary guest with the execution of hundreds of prisoners, the black king only treated the French Governor to the same sanguinary *fantasia* as he had so frequently compelled the merchants in Whydah to witness.†

After Behanzin had celebrated the funeral rites of his father, he began in earnest to attack the French settlements and to seize several Whydah traders as hostages. This precipitated active hostilities, in the course of which he was decisively routed by the French forces under General Dodds, and the coast

towns were garrisoned by French troops, in spite of a hypocritical proclamation, in which he declared that his kingdom had been unprovokedly invaded by the white men, and begging that the "work of civilisation" should be allowed to proceed without further interference. As the civilisation of Dahomey had always been a negligible quantity, the only reply to this whine uttered in his name was for General Dodds to return in the autumn of 1893 and subjugate the upper part of the country. Chased from

one camp after another by the French troops, in conjunction with the native levies of Gouthili, who had been elected and recognised as king, the helpless Behanzin

* *Times* (London), December 30th, 1894; *Ibid.*, October 8th, 1894, and December 27th, 1894. It is understood (February, 1895) that these disputes are almost settled and the Sierra Leone boundaries defined. Belgium, if the Powers permit, meditates the formal annexation of the Congo State as a colony, and the Imperial East Africa Company is prepared under specified conditions to accept



PAUL CRAMPEL
(From a Photograph by Otto, Paris.)

the Government offer of £200,000 for the surrender of all its rights, concessions and charters, reserving only its private property.

† "The Peoples of the World," Vol. III., pp. 91-106.

surrendered unconditionally, on the 26th of January, 1894, at Agego, north-west of Abomey his former capital, and was sent to Martinique. The kingdom was then annexed and a Governor or Resident appointed to the "protected" sovereign-in-name; and, as the people were pleased enough to get quit of their truculent *roi en exile* and his "customs," the tranquillity of Dahomey seems assured.* Carnotville, near Agbassa, in the "hinterland"

interested in perpetuating one of the most unredeemed savageries in Africa. Except that this absorption will still further complicate the already sufficiently tangled "hinterland" boundaries of the middle Niger region, and call for a fresh arrangement of the privileges of the different nations who have so long had semi-independent "factories" at Whydah, Dahomey under white rulers does not call for much comment, except congratulation.



WEST AFRICA: MARKET AT ILLAH. MIDDLE NIGER.

(From a Photograph by the Earl of Scarbrough.)

of this colony, may be regarded as the most visible sign of their new masters and of the end of one of the oldest of the truculent monarchies of West Africa. This military station is said to be in a fine healthy country, surrounded by a range of hills 2,000 or 3,000 feet high, the loftiest in this part of Africa, though Dahomey, as a whole, is rather hot for Europeans.

In this way 4,000 square miles and a population of some 250,000 people were added to the French republic, without the slightest objection on the part of anyone not

Farther north, the "hinterlands" scarcely concern us. For, with the exception of the Gold Coast—the back country of which is Ashantee, now admittedly under British control, and almost certain to be, sooner or later, annexed or "protected"—the French have managed to cut off all of the British colonies from the interior by pushing the westward limits of Soudan Française as near the coast as possible.

Even the Republic of Liberia (p. 159), which owes much to Britain, and nothing at all to France, has, for commercial purposes at least, come under the influence of the Power

* D'Albea, *Tour du Monde*, 1895, pp. 65-128.

whose energy, foresight, and diplomatic ability have been nowhere more notably displayed than in West Africa. In 1894 a long-pending treaty with France was ratified, by which the frontier was fixed at Rio Cavally and the con-

A black republic and a white one.

covered, and thus an outlet be found for the trade coming from the French "hinterland." Liberia, in reality, emerged from the wiles of Negro-Caucasian diplomacy almost in the position of a French Protectorate and, now that "Samory's States" are disappearing from

the map, more isolated—more deprived of any "hinterland"—than ever.

The steady conquest and absorption of the vast region known as the French Soudan has already been

noticed (p. 43). **The French Soudan.**

When General Faidherbe retired in 1865 from the Governorship of Senegal, the most inland of the French posts



VILLAGE OF IAOU.

trol of the whole coast between this point and San Pedro confirmed to France. The Liberian portion of the Niger Basin was also left to her white sister, the black republic only retaining the coast valleys. As the Liberian frontier was already continuous throughout the greater part of its extent with the French Ivory Coast and the Soudan, the latest delimitation treaty did not materially affect

Britain's relations to the negro state. But it was another step towards the realisation of the French dream of an African empire from Algeria to the Congo. The free navigation of the Cavally was, indeed, reserved in the hope that a connection between it and one of the navigable affluents of the Niger might be dis-



BONDONKOU TOWN

WEST AFRICA: VIEWS ON THE FRENCH IVORY COAST.

(From a Photograph by Capt. Marcel Monnier.)

was at or about Medina. By 1881, after much fighting and more talk, Ahmadou signed a treaty with Captain Gallieni which gave France the protectorate of a large stretch of country on the left bank of the Upper Niger; and in 1887 this Moslem potentate felt the pressure of his neighbours

so acutely that he was induced, rather reluctantly, to place the whole of his dominions under their control. Samory (p. 100), whose rule extended over nearly all the country drained by the Nile sources, was always a formidable obstacle to the French advances. Repeatedly defeated, he never admitted that he was subdued. When hard pressed, he signed treaty after treaty—in 1886, in 1887, in 1889—ceding anything and everything. But no sooner could he muster together a band of brigands, than he regarded the papers he had signed as so much rubbish, until he became an outlaw, and his empire virtually a portion of the French Soudan. In 1887, it may be remembered, Lieutenant Caron navigated the Upper Niger to the port of Timbuctoo (Vol. I., p. 312), a voyage repeated in 1889 by Lieutenant Jaime; and so consolidated did French power become in the Soudan that in 1888 telegraphic communication was established between the Upper Niger and St. Louis.

In 1887 also, the Almany Ibrahim Sory, after holding out for several years, was at last compelled to place his country of Futa Djallon under France; so that by 1894 the whole of the region between the Upper Niger and the West Coast was under the tricolour. Timbuctoo, by this time, was admitted to come within the French sphere of influence.

Finally, in 1894, that once mysterious city received the last indignity it could endure,

and the best of all misfortunes which could have happened to it, by receiving a French garrison.

Under Archinard, Humbert, and other military commandants, Gallieni's successful operations were continued until Timbuctoo seemed the natural goal of their victorious troops. The surrender of the King of Massina, in 1893, left the route open, which Colonel Bonnier (p. 46) promptly took advantage of by marching from Djenne on the city of so many inflated hopes, where he arrived on the 10th of January. This step was officially stigmatised as "unauthorised," while Colonel Bonnier explained it by his anxiety at hearing that

the native crew of a gunboat under Lieutenant Boiteaux, who had disembarked at Kabara, had been massacred on their way to the city. The truth is that the soldiers were jealous at the thought of the sailors having the glory of occupying Timbuctoo, and had made a forced march in order, if possible, to anticipate them. The gallant Colonel's satisfaction was, however, but short-lived. A few days after peacefully taking possession of the city, he and his column were attacked by the Touaregs at Dongoi, three days' march from Timbuctoo, and all of them slain. Commandant Joffre, however, soon routed these wild marauders and recovered some of the baggage of the troops who had been lulled into so false a sense of security. Since then the population of the place has given little trouble.

The turbulent elements have either the wisdom to remain quiet, or have left it. A French officer describes the town as hardly recognisable now that there is the bustle of soldiery and the blare of trumpets, with an embattled fort and a gate closed every night. "There is a municipality, besides police commissaries and scavengers, so that promenades at night involve no unpleasantness. In the market a troop of Touareg boys, their fathers killed and themselves picked up in reconnaissances, address you in a smattering of French. The market, with its straw sheds and its odour of meat and rotten fish, is, however, very poorly supplied; and in spite of its three mosques and of its reputation as a holy city, religion has very little hold on the people. Timbuctoo, in fact, is merely a vast exchange where salt, calicoes, honey, etc., are exchanged for slaves. Before the arrival of the French, Touaregs on horseback would often arrive at night before a merchant's shop and stick their lances in his door, whereupon he was glad to offer them his best goods as blackmail. Many doors still bear these lance-marks. The Touaregs even yet occasionally carry off slaves working in the millet-fields, and the French have to make weekly reconnaissances to tranquillise the villagers, for, though the latter

Timbuctoo
under the
French.

were accessory to the massacre of the Bonnier column, their millet is required for men and horses."

The exactions of the Touaregs have almost ruined the place, and it is dependent for provisions on Massina, which recently passed under French supremacy. But now that they know the strength of the latest of the many successive masters of Timbuctoo, it is probable that these "pirates of the Desert" will exercise discretion.* Already the country around the city has been surveyed and its position so carefully reobserved, that geographers must shift it off the plateau on which it has hitherto been supposed to stand.

The rest of the African "hinterlands" do not admit of much controversy.

The northern hinterlands. France has obtained all of them in the shape of the Sahara. This vast area of rather "light soil" is the background of Tunis and Algeria, and since the capture of Timbuctoo, more explorations have been pushed southwards and the Saharan Railway again revived as a feasible project (Vol. III., p. 94). Turkey does not profess any desire to possess more territory than that limited by the shadowy borders of sandy Fezzan; and the route from the Niger to Tripoli is likely before long to be controlled by French posts, should Timbuctoo again become a centre of Soudanese commerce, though of late it has been deserted for some of the Niger Company's more inland stations. But the caravans will be diverted in favour of Tunis and Algeria, so that Tripoli is not likely to profit by the latest French conquest. Even Morocco, the Sultans of which were at one time lords of Timbuctoo (Vol. I., p. 123), is not permitted any "hinterland." The Touat Oases are claimed by France. Figuig is threatened and it may be that when a convenient opportunity arrives Tafilet, the ancient home of the dynasty, will, with all the country on the Saharan side of the Atlas, be occupied

by France until her boundaries can be "rectified" at the cost of the Sick Man of Morocco.

Abyssinia—if ever the land of Prester John changes hands—is the heritage of Italy, in spite of the suspicious interest which Russia is taking in the Negus, and the Soudanese bounds of Egypt are, while we write, being firmly drawn by the action of Belgium, Italy, Great Britain and France.

It was the often-expressed opinion of Sir Samuel Baker that the keys of the Soudan are Kassala, Berber, and Dongola, and that Khartoum, the former **The keys of Egypt.** capital, is of no importance, owing to its position on the wrong side of the junction of the White and Blue Niles cutting it off from all approach if an enemy is in possession of the river. Berber or Shendy, as of old, should be the metropolis. Berber, however, could be attacked from Kassala, and Kassala is now in Italian hands—with more to follow. The Atbara joins the Nile about twenty-four miles south of Berber. This stream has created the Delta of Egypt, bringing, as it does, from the distant tablelands and rich soil of Abyssinia, the fertile mud which it carries down to Lower Egypt and the Mediterranean (Vol. II., p. 20). It is possible—and if possible not altogether improbable—that a powerful nation in possession of the Abyssinian sources of the Nile, and almost as much so if it controlled the lake tributaries, could ruin Egypt. Sir Samuel Baker thought so, as Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff thinks so still. And the Egyptians, whenever there is a very low Nile, talk of what mischief the King of Abyssinia may be doing by cutting off the fertilising waters (Vol. II., p. 22). It is also worth noting that as early as 1513 the Portuguese, in their difficulties with the Grand Soldan of Egypt, dreamt of taking advantage of him in the same masterful fashion, Afonso de Albuquerque proposing to pierce through a small range of hills so as to divert the Abyssinian Nile into another bed, and thus prevent the irrigation of the lands about Cairo.†

* Hubert et Delafosse: "Tombouctou, son histoire, sa conquête" (1894); Madame Bonnetain: "Une Française au Soudan" (1894); De Slane, *Revue africaine*, t. I. p. 287, etc.

† Danvers: "Portuguese in India" (1894), Vol. I., p. 271.

Our story has ended, but not that of Africa. It is, indeed, scarcely begun. For, though the exploration of the great continent has been almost completed in its broad outlines,* its exploitation is still to be completed. And when that will finish, or by whom, and amid what native wars and foreign broils, no man may venture to predict. Yet, as far as we can see at present, unless gold and diamonds are found to be more widely distributed, and in great quantities, in accessible places fit for Europeans, only a small portion of Africa will ever be filled by the overflow of a world which was young while yet it was old. The West Coast can never be better than plantations and trading-posts, and even the more inland parts of the East are capable of affording homes to Europeans in detached places only, not at all likely to be profitably settled for many generations

* On Mr. Ravenstein's map (p. 293), the progress of exploration is shown, though, the reader will understand, only in the broad outlines which graphic illustration of this kind admits of displaying. The author may add that in spelling African names, he has not felt bound to follow any particular "system," the simplest, most familiar, and therefore most intelligible, form being invariably selected.

to come. Even North and South Africa are not quite suitable for the Caucasian. In Barbary the Northern European cannot toil in comfort and health: Mr. Rhodes, indeed, who vouches for "Rhodesia" being all that a white farmer need desire, excepts the borderlands from this eulogy. And in the Cape countries the ample supply of native labour does not render them very attractive to the white man, unless he is a master. And master he must always be.

The half-castes are more hopeful, and the hardy people of Southern Europe—Catalans, Provençals, Maltese, and Sicilians—can toil under the African sun without any inconvenience. For them, therefore, it would seem that the future of the Continent is to be, if it is not to remain over most of its huge extent, dark and undeveloped. But the virility of the natives, unlike those of America, must in Africa always be reckoned on. For the best part of four centuries they have declined to be ignored, and it is extremely improbable that in the ages to come they will acquiesce in the white man eating the fat of a land in which nothing but the lean of life is left for the blacks.



WEST AFRICA: IVORY COAST VILLAGE.

(Native pedlar's pack in the foreground.)

(From a Photograph by Capt. Marcel Monnier.)



(Photo: Abdullah Frères, Cairo.)

THE NUBIAN DETACHMENT OF THE CAMEL CORPS.

APPENDIX.

Africa at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE RECOVERY OF THE SOUDAN.

The Wady Halfa Frontier in 1896—Italian Defeat at Adowa, and its Grave Consequences—Kitchener Ordered to Advance—Opposition to the Advance at Home and Abroad—Occupation of Akasheh and Battle of Ferkeh—Dongola Reoccupied as Result of First Year's Campaign—Nile Gunboat Flotilla—Railway across the Desert to Abu Hamed—Dervish Sack of Metemneh—Abu Hamed Seized—Reoccupation of Berber, and Bombardment of Metemneh Closes the Second Year's Campaign—Kassala Transferred to an Anglo-Egyptian Garrison—Dervishes Move to Shendy—Battle of the Atbara and Occupation of Metemneh and Shendy—Final Advance on Omdurman—Decisive Battle and Capture of the Dervish Capital—Memorial Service at Khartoum—Occupation of Gedaref—Exploration of White and Blue Nile—French Force Found at Fashoda—Death of the Khalifa and Capture of Osman Digna—Settlement of the Country—Railway Development—Clearance of the Upper Nile and Navigation to Lado—Future Problems in the Soudan.

THE closing years of the nineteenth century have made history in Africa very fast, clearing up most of the problems left still undecided in the previous pages, and developing others, so that the main lines of the great continent's future can be fairly discerned, so far at least as concerns the share to be taken in it by the nations of Europe. More than once or twice questions have arisen that have developed

acute crises in both African and European politics; but at length the "scramble" so picturesquely delineated in the foregoing chapters seems nearly over, and the Story of Africa from the European standpoint may be fairly concluded, though the real history of civilised Africa itself is perhaps scarcely begun. We have now, therefore, to gather up in outline the chief events which have occurred

since this work was originally completed, and which, taken together, seem to form a more or less permanent political settlement of this vast continent. First amongst those events, from several points of view, comes the reconquest of the Eastern Soudan and its replacement under the rule of Anglo-Egyptian civilisation.

Our previous history left the whole of this great region abandoned, except the port of Suakin on the Red Sea. Lord Wolseley had protested against the evacuation of Dongola; but Mr. Gladstone's Government was inflexible, and the frontier of the Anglo-Egyptian protectorate was fixed at Wady Halfa, just below the Second Cataract of the Nile; Dongola and other successive stations being occupied by the triumphant Mahdists almost as soon as the British expedition retired from its vain attempt to succour Gordon. For the choice of Wady Halfa there were strong military reasons. In front of it was a mile of flat sand, easily commanded by machine guns; beyond that was a hundred miles of desert, which had to be first crossed by any invader; and the place was accessible by steamers from Cairo and Lower Egypt all the year round. Yet again and again the dervishes came right up to its walls, and in 1889 they even attempted to cut off the position and attack Assouan with an army of many thousands. But meantime English officers had worked wonders with the native Egyptian troops, and, with the aid of a gunboat flotilla, the savage warriors were crushingly defeated, under Generals Wodehouse and Grenfell, at the battle of Toski, by an army of the same material which, under Hicks Pasha, had been slaughtered like sheep. Many prisoners were taken, and in the new Soudanese regiments, which they gladly entered, subsequently rendered valuable service in the redemption of their country. The whole was an earnest of what was to follow, and of the recovery of the Soudan by the aid of a regenerated and reorganised native army.

That enterprise probably must and would

have been undertaken in any case; but the actual impulse came indirectly through the misfortunes of Italy. It has already been told how Kassala, taken by the Mahdists in July, 1885, had been captured by General Baratieri in 1894, with the consent of England, previously withheld. Italy had also concluded with Abyssinia a treaty, which she now interpreted as a protectorate. This inflamed King Menelek's jealousy, with the result that he attacked the Italian forces; and though one Abyssinian army of 10,000 was defeated at Koatit, in the next engagement 2,500 Italians were nearly exterminated; the town of Makalla was stormed; and, finally, on March 1st, 1896, at the battle of Adowa, an Italian army of 25,000 was so disastrously routed that barely 10,000 were able to take refuge in Adigrat that night.

This was the most hopeless and crushing disaster that had ever overwhelmed a European army arrayed against natives of Africa; and when the tidings reached Omdurman, opposite The Adowa disaster. Khartoum on the other bank

of the Nile, it was only natural that it should stir up the Khalifa, who had now succeeded the Mahdi in authority over the dervishes, to prompt action. He had never forgotten the capture of Kassala; he knew that Italy could now send no help there; now was his time. He despatched at once a force for the recapture of that place, which the British Government had urgent reasons for desiring should not fall into his hands. But tidings also reached Colonel Wingate, head of the Egyptian Intelligence Department (whose hands had been strengthened by the recent escape from Omdurman of Slatin Bey, through whose many friends at the Mahdist capital constant communications were received) that the Khalifa was, besides, preparing for further immense raids on the Egyptian frontier. If something were not done to decisively restore European prestige, there was grave danger of some fanatical outburst as wide as the first outbreak of Mahdism

itself. So at least the British Government thought; and partly for these reasons, and partly to relieve Kassala by occupying the dervishes elsewhere, on March 12th, 1896, Major-General Kitchener, Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, received a telegram ordering an advance. This was late at night. Next morning one of his staff was in Cook's offices at Cairo discussing with the manager, behind closed doors, the employment of that agency's fleet of steamers and barges for conveying an expedition to Assouan.

The time of year, with the hot season in front and the Nile at its lowest, sufficiently showed the urgency of the matter in the eyes of the British Ministry that was now in power. It was, indeed, a somewhat critical point in the history of Egypt. Only a few weeks before, in February, the Sultan of Turkey, egged on by France, had pressed the

British Government to evacuate the country, on condition of security being otherwise "guaranteed" for its communications with India; an overture which Lord Salisbury respectfully declined. The present advance was dogged from the outset by opposition, both at home and abroad. Lord Cromer applied to the Caisse de la Dette for half a million towards its expenses, from the large surplus accumulated by British rule. To this the French and Russian representatives objected, and appeal was made to

the Mixed Tribunals Court; by which, at the instigation of the same Powers, it was decided that absolute unanimity of the representatives was required, and the Government was "condemned" to refund the money. The result was, however, that the required sum was advanced by the

British Government itself; and thus, to the surprise and vexation of those who had organised the opposition, the claim and hold of England upon Egypt, instead of being weakened, became far stronger than before. In the British Parliament, also, the proposed advance was challenged by the Opposition at every stage, to such an extent that the Government shrank from committing itself too far, and stated only that a diversion must be made in aid of the Italian army, to enable it to hold Kassala, and that they designed to reoccupy Akasheh, and relay

the railway to it across the desert, further operations being determined by the course of events. Akasheh was a former advanced post on the Nile, sixty miles south of Wady Halfa, which the dervishes had driven in years before.

The early stages of the advance were mainly a fight with transport difficulties, in which the Sirdar showed from the first that remarkable energy and power of organisation which characterised the whole of the Soudan campaigns, and afterwards rendered such invaluable services in the



LORD KITCHENER OF KHARTOUM.

(Photo : G. Lekegian & Co, Cairo.)

Opposition
to the
advance.

Boer War. At Assouan everything had to be landed and carried round the rapids of the First Cataract to Shellal, whence there was again river navigation to Wady Halfa, though, owing to the season, the boats were continually running aground. Meantime the frontier garrison at Wady Halfa, under Colonel Archibald Hunter, pushed forward at once, occupying Akasheh without opposition. Even before the middle of April the dervish force before Kas-sala had been so far weakened by withdrawals that, after a severe defeat by the Italian garrison, it was glad to raise the siege and retire to the Atbara; and thus the most immediate object of the expedition was accomplished. About the same time there was fighting near Suakin and Tokar, on the Red Sea. The dervish leader, Osman Digna, believing that a flanking expedition would probably co-operate thence, conducted another raid into that region, but was defeated by Colonel Lloyd with heavy loss. He also thereupon withdrew to the Atbara, this being the last attempt of the dervishes to attack Suakin.

The real campaign was steadily pushed on, its first stage being the relaying of the railway which had formerly existed between Wady Halfa and Akasheh. On May 1st, 1896, 250 native Egyptian cavalry, under Major Burn-Murdoch, dispersed a

thousand dervish horsemen with heavy loss, and on June 1st the Sirdar himself left Wady Halfa for Akasheh to make the final arrangements for attacking the Mahdists at Ferkeh, about sixteen miles distant, where their camp and army was about 5,000 strong. The attack was made on June 7th, when the dervishes were defeated with great

slaughter, Ham-muda Idris, the commander, and many of his emirs, being killed, and the beaten remnants of his army retreating southward, with Burn-Murdoch in their rear. The cavalry leader continued the pursuit on to the gates of Suarda, which is half-way from Wady Halfa to Dongola. Thus over fifty miles of the Nile Valley had passed again under Anglo-Egyptian rule; the most difficult part of the country had been covered; and, above all, the native Egyptian

army, under British officers, had shown itself capable of both attacking and defeating superior numbers of those once-dreaded fanatics of the desert, who had overwhelmed and exterminated the army of Hicks Pasha sixteen years before.

During the following months cholera invaded Egypt, and made sad inroads upon the ranks of the expedition. This disease had never before been known in the Soudan, and its ravages were great, all the more owing to the period of comparative idleness which, now that the most urgent object of the



THE NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE REGIMENT ON THE MARCH.

advance was accomplished, necessarily preceded the rising of the Nile. During this interval several gunboats of light draught were brought up in sections to Kosheh and there launched, and on August 26th another general advance commenced. This was hindered by storms of extraordinary severity, which several times destroyed portions of the railway line: but by September 16th the entire army, stiffened by the North Staffordshire Regiment and with increased Egyptian battalions of infantry, bringing the total up to 13,000 men, had assembled at Fereig; and, after slight skirmishes on the river, in which the dervishes were driven back and their leader, Wad-el-Bishara, severely wounded, on September 23rd, almost unopposed, the force entered and occupied the long-abandoned city of Dongola. Here large stores

were captured, many fresh black soldiers were enlisted, and Ed Debbah, Korti, and

Merowe, on the bend of the Nile a hundred miles farther south, were occupied and fortified. As the Sirdar said in his despatch at the close, the result of these operations was completely "to stop the constant dervish raids on the villages between Assouan and Wady Halfa; to add some 450 miles of the Nile Valley to Egyptian territory, 300 miles of which may

be described as of great fertility; and to relieve, to their intense delight, the large and suffering population of Dongola from the barbarous and tyrannical rule of the savage and fanatical Baggaras." With these results, the Sirdar and his staff returned to Cairo on October 13th.

The operations next year were chiefly remarkable for the progress of the railway across the desert—a curious and fit type of the means by which such regions are in reality and truth redeemed from barbarism, and of British methods as compared with the naked militarism of some other colonising Powers. On April 28th, 1897, a British mission to King Menelek arrived at the Court of Abyssinia, and a treaty of friendship speedily removed any fear of annoyance from that flank of the British



THE SIRDAR'S GUNBOAT FLOTILLA.

advance. Amongst other preparations, the establishment of the native Egyptian army was increased by several battalions, and additions were also made to the gunboat flotilla destined to operate upon the Nile itself. Only one modern vessel had been ready for the operations against Dongola; but since then several others had been got up to the stretch which reaches to near Merowe, where fifty or sixty miles of rapids, commonly called the Fourth Cataract, interpose between that point and Abu Hamed.

Dongola
occupied.

Two more gunboats were being specially built for launching above this point, when all should be ready for the advance on Omdurman; and the rapids higher up, known as the Fifth and Sixth Cataracts, being navigable at high water, would cause no difficulty. An agreement was also made with Italy, by which she was to garrison Kassala till the end of the year, when it should be taken over on behalf of Egypt. Meantime, the key of the present stage in the advance was Abu Hamed, which, owing to its position on the sharp bend of the Nile, as shown in any map, commanded the course of the river to Berber on the south, while to it converged from the north both the route by the Nile and that across the desert.

The original railway had kept near the river, and by the end of 1896 had been carried a little south of Kosheh; by May, in 1897, it had been brought right up to the Third Cataract, beyond which it was

not proposed to proceed by this route, which sufficiently opened the way for supplies to Dongola and Merowe. Two thousand natives had been employed on this work; but even before it was completed another had been begun, which was to branch off just outside Wady Halfa, and strike almost straight for Abu Hamed across the desert, avoiding three cataracts and a long *détour*. The whole railway staff was transferred to this line as soon as the first was completed, and the whole 233 miles were completed in seven months, though they stretched over a dry and uninhabited desert, and the further terminus was in the hands of the enemy when the line was begun. The time would have been even less, had not work been stopped entirely for some weeks, owing to a difficulty in obtaining sleepers, suddenly caused by the Græco-Turkish War.

In many respects this Abu Hamed desert railway was a remarkable work. For over seventy miles no water could be found, and it had to be carried in tanks for the engines as well as for the 2,600 men. Fortunately,

water was then obtained by boring an artesian well, and the precious fluid was again found in a similar way fifty miles still farther out. The operations were conducted by Royal Engineer officers under Lieutenant Girouard, a Canadian, who had received a special railway training, and who will be found again, like so many of the Soudan officers, rendering most valuable services in the later Boer War. The mode of construction is described as follows by Lord Cromer, in his annual report upon the condition of Egypt:—

"In the first place a reconnaissance was made by officers mounted on camels, to obtain a general idea of the surrounding country, and settle roughly the direction the line should follow. The difficulty of this portion of the work was enhanced by the fact that between miles 40 and 126 the reconnoitring parties were not allowed to proceed more than ten miles in front of the railhead escort, owing to the presence of dervishes at Abu Hamed and the danger of being cut off by raiding parties. It was therefore not always easy to lay out the line to the best advantage. When the line was laid up to mile 126, Abu Hamed was captured, and a reconnaissance was at once made from the railhead to that place. This was followed by a more careful survey, and the direction which the line should take was then definitely decided.

"About five miles behind the survey parties came the working parties, 1,200 strong, for making the embankments. Two miles beyond these followed the platelaying parties, consisting of 350 men, for laying the permanent way; these platelayers were, almost without exception, trained by their own officers. Half a mile behind the platelayers came a gang of 400, whose duties were to lift, straighten, and ballast the line. A mile behind these followed a second lifting party of 400 men, to put on the finishing touches. The material trains ran up to the head of the line, and then moved on slowly as the line was made, the material



AT THE RAILHEAD, BERBER.

being unloaded a few yards at a time, spiked down, and then roughly straightened to allow the train to pass over it."

Including some stoppages, as already mentioned, the whole line was laid at an average rate of over a mile per day, the best day's work being nearly three and a half miles. The amount laid, of course, depended upon the levels, and the consequent amount of embankment necessary, most rapid progress being made on nearly level ground.

While this work was advancing, the first day of July witnessed another and typical, but happily the last considerable outbreak of savagery on the part of the dervishes. The native tribes had eagerly watched the Anglo-Egyptian advance, and the Jaalin tribe, whose homes were chiefly round Metemneh, between Berber and Khartoum, had opened private communications with the Sirdar, promising co-operation when he should advance into their country. But they were too soon and too rash, and so far presumed upon the gradual British advance, that when the Khalifa sent the Emir Mahmoud to occupy Metemneh in force, they refused him admission. He stormed the town, and routed the whole tribe in a general engagement, over a thousand being slain, and all their women and property being seized by the fierce victors. More than this, all along the river the irrigating apparatus was destroyed, and the former fertile country made a barren desert—but too typical of the dreadful work of Mahdism in the Soudan.

If, however, present succour was too far off for these unfortunate tribesmen, retribution was fast approaching. The Sirdar established his headquarters at Merowe, and at the end of July sent forward Major-General Hunter to seize Abu Hamed. The march was fearfully hot and difficult, but by August 6th Hunter had reached Ginfidab, eighteen miles from Abu Hamed, on the bank of the river. Here he rested his men for some hours, advancing again during the night to a sandy ridge only

two miles from the town, which was defended by loopholes and trenches. There Hunter formed his attack, the place being first shelled and searched by rifle-fire, then stormed with the bayonet. The dervishes fought desperately, and it is believed that out of over 700 only about fifty escaped, the rest being killed or taken prisoners; the Egyptian army had about 200 killed and wounded. But the success was complete, having a profound influence upon the surrounding tribes, and giving to the Sirdar the key of Berber, which he had marked as his goal for this year's advance.

For Berber a harder struggle had been anticipated, but this did not prove to be the case. The new gunboats and the rest of the flotilla were successfully got up to Abu Hamed, and would have easily bombarded a place occupying five miles of river bank. This the dervish emir in command was well aware of, and when the Sirdar was ready to advance it was found that Berber had been evacuated. The flotilla was at once ordered up the river with a small garrison, and the town was occupied without loss, many boats and considerable supplies of food also changing hands. The gunboats were pushed seventy miles farther up to Metemneh, which was shelled and reconnoitred, but the permanent advance post was fixed opposite Ed Damar, at the confluence of the River Atbara and the Nile.

When, therefore, the Sirdar reviewed his troops at Berber before returning to Cairo in the autumn, all was ready for next year's final advance upon Khartoum. On the river before him he had a strong armed flotilla and ample transport. His desert railway was completed some miles past Abu Hamed, and was fast approaching Berber by a course near the river, so that he could now receive troops from Cairo to the railhead near Berber within five days. If, on the other hand, the dervishes advanced in force from their stronghold at Metemneh, on the western side of the

Occupation
of Berber.

Bayuda desert, he was in some force at Dongola and Merowe, and could receive reinforcements by his older line of communication. Meantime the agreement between England and Italy came into force, and on Christmas Day, 1897, Kassala changed hands, the Italian flag being run up for the last time, saluted by the guns of the fort and by the Egyptian force which had arrived from Suakin, and being then replaced by the flag of Egypt, which was saluted in its turn. Most of the native troops under Italian officers transferred their allegiance and their services to the new flag, and were thenceforth mustered into the Egyptian army. The new garrison very soon cleared out the dervish positions on the Atbara, and established civilised dominion up to the bank of that river.

The final campaign opened early, the Sirdar leaving Cairo for Wady Halfa in the middle of December, 1897. Colonel Wingate's spies had informed him that the Khalifa was making at Omdurman preparations for an expedition, and a large body under Mahmoud had crossed the Nile from Metenneh and fortified Shendy on the opposite bank—all pointing clearly to an intended attack in the direction of Berber. A British brigade of several regiments, under General Gatacre, was sent up to Wady Halfa from Cairo early in January, but Mahmoud made little sign until late in February, when he moved over to the Shendy side his guns, stores, and almost his whole force of 17,000 men. The British force was at once brought up, and General Kitchener moved his own headquarters up to Berber on March 5th. The gunboats went up and shelled Shendy, capturing many boats laden with food, and harassed the dervish forces upon both flanks while on their march, driving them away from the river. They attacked a British post at Adarana, forty miles up the river, and an old home of Osman Digna, but were repulsed with heavy loss. They continued to advance, however, and after various minor

encounters between small bodies on either side, Mahmoud finally gathered his force together in a strong entrenched camp at El Hilgi, thirty miles up the Atbara from its junction with the Nile, and twenty miles from the camp of the Sirdar.

Here he waited; but his opponent did not wait. He sent a force up the river, which destroyed the dervish base of supplies at Shendy, seizing the provisions, and killing or taking prisoners nearly all the garrison. Mahmoud was thus compelled either to fight or starve, and on April 4th and the following days the Sirdar gradually drew round him the British and Egyptian forces, which comprised a total of about 12,000 men. The dervish camp was surrounded by entrenchments and a tremendous hedge of thorns, and to cope with these latter the troops were provided with hundreds of blankets to fling ^{Battle of the Atbara.} upon the top, and thick leather

gloves to tear the thorns down. The last march was made at night, and in the dawn of Good Friday, April 8th, the men moved on the zereba for what is known as the battle of the Atbara. The camp formed an irregular circle two-thirds of a mile across, the zereba or thorn hedge surrounding it being in some places ten feet high and nearly twice as thick, inside which was a stockade and trench, beyond which were smaller trenches and rifle-pits innumerable. The camp itself was dotted with trees and bushes, huts, and bomb-proof shelters, in one of which Mahmoud carefully enconcealed himself during the attack. It was heavily shelled, during which time the dervish cavalry attempted a charge, but were repulsed with great loss and driven off up the Atbara; then the troops closed in with rifle-fire; finally, the order was given for assault, and in twenty minutes the hedge had been torn down, and the camp, with all the guns, standards, baggage, and Mahmoud himself, was in the Sirdar's hands. Osman Digna was amongst the enemy, but took an early

opportunity of getting away. Over 3,000 dervish dead were actually counted in and around the camp, and the Anglo-Egyptian army itself suffered the heavy loss (for such a short engagement) of 51 killed and 319 wounded. But many of the dervish leaders had fallen, and the way had been

railway had been creeping on: to the Arab enemy it must have seemed far more terrible than the swiftest onset. Slow and sure as some everlasting fate the Sirdar's army was moving into the heart of the land, making fast its hold as it came on; shattering with its deadly fire all that



ATTACK ON MACDONALD'S BRIGADE AT OMDURMAN.

practically cleared for the final march to Omdurman.

This was delayed for the rising of the Nile, the Sirdar's force returning to Berber, which was entered in triumphal array, while friendly tribes garrisoned Metemneh and Shendy. To quote Mr. Atteridge,* "There had been only four days of battle, but there had been two years of unceasing toil, the main burden of which fell on the Egyptian regiments. Day by day the

* "Wars of the Nineties" (Cassell & Co.).

barred its way; seeing and knowing everything by its wonderful intelligence system; and as it came, shortening the way it traversed with the iron road that was travelled over by those strange monsters of fire and steam. Men at home in England heard of the battles, but only the few who had actually seen the work could have any real idea of the unceasing toil by which the gunboats were brought past the cataracts and set afloat on the upper river; by which the railway was laid

over the rock and sand of the desert and kept in working order, and the supplies for a large army collected 1,500 miles from the base at Cairo, far off on the narrow margin between the desert and the river. The work would have been tenfold more difficult, the long line of communications would have had to be guarded by a stronger force, but for the fact that, as the flag of Egypt was pushed further and further south along the Nile, it was everywhere welcomed as the standard of an army of rescue and deliverance. Seldom has a soldier set forth on a nobler mission than that confided to the Sirdar. His task was to bring back peace and freedom to the Nile Valley by destroying a cruel and fanatical tyranny."

During the summer the armed flotilla was further strengthened, and the railway further brought down beyond Berber to the camp at the junction of the Atbara, while material was prepared for continuing it on to Khartoum after the campaign. To the British brigade already in the Soudan another was added, for it was reported that the dervish forces now gathered for the great struggle at Omdurman, under the Khalifa himself, amounted to at least 60,000 men, whilst the Sirdar's forces amounted to about 22,000 in all. On August 19th the advance was at last begun, and on the 22nd had passed Metemneh and reached Wady Hamed, at the foot of the Sixth Cataract, finding the whole region devastated and like a city of the dead. There were assembled also a considerable auxiliary force of friendly Arabs, anxious to aid in throwing off the Mahdist tyranny. It had been expected that the Khalifa would give battle at Kerreri, some miles north of Omdurman, and it was learnt later that such had been his intention; but the advance was faster than he expected, and he remained in the city which had, under dervish rule, taken the place of the dismantled Khartoum. This was shelled on September 1st, with terrible results,

compelling the Mahdists to come out the next day and offer battle.

The Khalifa's army was estimated at nearly 50,000, and he committed the terrible error of attacking the British camp over nearly two miles of open plain.

Under the guns of the flotilla Battle of
Omdurman. and the artillery, and exposed

to the fire of thousands of Lee-Metford rifles, the dervish losses were terrific; but their masses pressed on, and at one time nearly cut off the camel corps and part of the artillery, till three gunboats ran up close and rescued the endangered troops. The most desperate valour, however, was of no use in face of such a fire, and only one Arab is said to have got so near as within 200 yards of the British division. The dead and dying lay in heaps when the enemy finally recoiled, and the army of the Sirdar was ordered to advance. In the course of this advance the 21st Lancers made a magnificent charge, brought upon them almost unawares by an unknown body of 1,500 dervishes, who had reformed in the shelter of a slight hollow, and in which scarcely a man or horse escaped without some injury. Finally, the Khalifa drew up all the remainder of his still great force for a last effort, and launched it upon General Macdonald's brigade of about 3,000, which was for a little time in some danger, the men having used nearly all their ammunition when reinforcements came up. But it was the last effort: when it failed, the enemy broke and fled, and the victorious army entered Omdurman, releasing many European and Egyptian prisoners, but failing to capture the Khalifa, who got away a few minutes before. Considering the magnitude of the battle, the casualties were small, only 27 being killed and 145 wounded among the British, and 21 killed and 229 wounded of the Egyptian troops. But the dervish losses were fearful: very nearly 11,000 dead were counted, and it was estimated that 15,000 were wounded, 7,000 of the latter being actually taken as prisoners and treated by

the surgeons. Most of the leading emirs were either killed or taken captive, and the power of the truculent Baggaras was broken for ever. The Khalifa got away for the time to Kordofan, and Osman Digna added another to his many escapes.

On Sunday, September 4th, 1898, a solemn ceremony took place at Khartoum. The troops were formed in square before the

Khartoum.

ruined palace where Gordon had fallen; when the British and Egyptian flags were hoisted together, the guns firing a salute and the band playing in succession the British National Anthem and the Khedive's March. Then followed a religious service in memory of Gordon. Soon afterwards the tomb of the Mahdi was destroyed, and his remains were scattered into the Nile. This action was much criticised by many in England, but the Sirdar and Slatin Pasha best knew the danger of allowing any further religious fanaticism to gather round such a centre of disturbance as the body of the dead leader, and it was considered by the majority—and especially by those most conversant with Mohammedan races—that the proceeding was only prudent, and therefore justified, as marking the final downfall of Mahdism.

The real campaign was now virtually concluded, and though much still remained to be done, the way was cleared for taking possession of the entire Eastern Soudan. Colonel Parsons, the Governor of Kassala, was directed now to advance south-west and clear the province and town of Gedaref, on the border of Abyssinia, of the dervish forces under Ahmed Fedil, who commanded the only organised force remaining of the enemy. With 1,300 of his garrison he started from Kassala, and on September 22nd

occupied Gedaref, after a fierce battle with the dervish army of about 4,000, in which the enemy lost over 500, and the Anglo-Egyptian force 100 in killed and wounded, relatively the heaviest loss in the entire operations. Twice after, in succession, Ahmed Fedil obtained reinforcements, and endeavoured to recapture the town, but was each time beaten back with heavy loss, and the province thus cleared on the Abyssinian border. The emir himself escaped, and gave some trouble on several

subsequent occasions, but was always defeated, and his last force was practically annihilated or captured in the following year.

Meantime gunboat expeditions were also pushed up both branches of the Nile under instructions from the British Government, which felt some anxiety concerning Abyssinia on the Blue Nile, and France on the White Nile branch. As regards France, these forebodings proved amply justified; for, only three days after the Gordon memorial service just men-



(Photo: Mayall.)

COLONEL PARSONS.

tioned, on September 7th, a former dervish steamer came up to Omdurman to report that white officers with black troops were in occupation of Fashoda, 400 miles to the south. The Sirdar himself, in express view of such a possibility, had been directed beforehand to accompany the White Nile expedition, and on arrival at Fashoda found in occupation Captain (afterwards Major) Marchand. This expedition, the questions it raised, and their final settlement, belong to the next chapter; here it need only be stated that Fashoda was effectively occupied, and also the post of Sobat, at the river junction still further south, these occupations being both acknowledged by the French

Up the Nile.

withdrawal from Fashoda at the close of the year. Fashoda is nearly as far south of Khartoum as the latter is of Wady Halfa, the starting-point of the Soudan campaigns.

The Blue Nile expedition was confined to a single gunboat and one barge to be towed, under command of Major-General Hunter.

standing the crushing defeat at Omdurman, the Khalifa and many emirs, especially Osman Digna, were still at large. The Khalifa speedily began again to rally scattered followers to his standard, and while he remained at large was a constant source of trouble and intrigue near the Nile, to which



HOISTING THE BRITISH AND EGYPTIAN FLAGS AT KHARTOUM.

It left Khartoum on September 19th, occupied the important town of Sennaar, and by September 30th had navigated as far as the rapids at Rosaires, 425 miles by river from Khartoum. The voyage back was completed in fifty hours. The British flag was thus carried into a region where it had never been seen before, and the country was occupied at this latitude also, close up to the Abyssinian frontier.

A few lines will suffice for remaining or subsequent military operations. Notwith-

he was forced to resort for water. Two expeditions sent in pursuit had been successfully eluded, though on one occasion the Sirdar himself had got within thirty miles of him. On November 9th, 1899, the latter had returned to Cairo (the journey occupying this time seventy-one hours from Khartoum), but five days later received news that the dervish leader and his army were coming down the White Nile, and had reached a point only 150 miles below Khartoum. The Sirdar hurried back, and a third expedition was hastily organised and

sent in pursuit under Sir Francis Wingate. On November 23rd it came up with a force of about 2,500 dervishes under Ahmed Fedil, which was defeated with heavy loss; and on November 25th, at a place called Om Debrikat—the expedition thus marching sixty miles and fighting two battles in sixty-one

hours—the Khalifa was found at last, with the main body of his adherents. This time, encouraged by news of the British difficulties in South Africa, he offered battle, to be totally routed with great slaughter. Seeing all was lost, he spread his sheepskin and sat down upon it, with his emirs round him, right in line of the advancing force, which literally swept over the whole. Among the dead, besides Abdullah himself, were Ahmed Fedil, two brothers of the Khalifa, and a son of the former Mahdi, with other well-known leaders. Many others were taken as prisoners, amongst them the dead leader's eldest son and designated successor. Over 10,000 prisoners beside were taken. Osman Digna alone once more escaped; but he was never able again to collect followers, and in the following January (1900) was captured as a lonely fugitive at a spot about ninety miles south-west of Suakin. The Khalifa Abdullah was at the time of his death fifty-four years old.

Settlement of the recovered country had not been left till the close of these military operations. In January, 1899, the Sirdar was appointed Governor-General of the Soudan, and held, in conjunction with Lord Cromer, a reception of native sheiks at Omdurman, Lord Cromer the following day laying the foundation stone of the Gordon College at Khartoum (since completed by public subscriptions from England) for the education of the natives, without interference with their religion. The striking change which had come over the whole region was shown by the fact that the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, who had come to Egypt primarily to lay the foundation stone of the great reservoir dam at Assuan,

on February 19th came to Khartoum and reviewed 9,000 of the Anglo-Egyptian troops.

The Government set up is, and must be for some time, military in character and spirit. The country was divided into the five provinces, Dongola, Khartoum, Sennaar, Kassala, and Fashoda, and the three smaller districts of Assuan, Wady Halfa, and Suakin, each province being placed under an experienced military officer as mudir. These officers, subject only to the supreme Governor-General, rule their districts under a penal code modelled upon the Indian code already in use at Zanzibar, which has been found to work well with Mohammedans and other natives, and which includes heavy penalties against kidnapping or trafficking in slaves. The taxes imposed by the Sirdar include imposts upon land, dates, houses in towns, boats, and herds, and royalties of 20 per cent. upon certain native products. Licences are also required for firearms, sale of liquor, auctioneers, ferries, and hawkers, and there are certain market dues. By these means a balance has already been secured in the administration of some of the provinces; but it is doubtful whether this has not been done at too great a cost, and some of the above taxes may probably be modified.

The two crying wants of the reconquered provinces, reduced to almost utter desolation by Mahdist cruelty and tyranny, are population and permanent settlement. The greater part of the male population had been exterminated, so that when, late in 1899, the Egyptian troops reoccupied El Obeid, the former capital of Kordofan, the place was found utterly empty and deserted. It will take years to rebuild a whole people. The cruel confiscations and changes have also upset and disturbed all titles to property, and to place these upon a settled basis will require much labour from the Commission which has been appointed. But progress has already been made in this, and the city of Khartoum, which it has been decided to resuscitate instead of the Mahdist capital of Omdurman, is already being rebuilt



HOW THE NILE IS GUARDED: VIEW OF AKASHEH.

upon a metropolitan scale, with streets ninety feet wide. Here a garrison of 11,000 native troops is retained in a state of mobilisation, but will probably be reduced as the country settles down.

Of the captured forces, a few of the principal emirs have been treated as State prisoners, and are confined at Rosetta. Amongst these are Osman Digna and the eldest son of the late Khalifa, who might obviously, if left at large, be capable of stirring up dangerous disturbance. Many of the blacks were enlisted into the Egyptian army, proving brave and loyal troops; many of the Arabs have been employed in engineering operations and the rebuilding of Khartoum; others have been left to find their place in the new order of things, or to look up and claim their property from the special Commission appointed to settle such claims.

Railway and other communication has been rapidly pushed on. The reconquest was from the first a "railway" war, as already shown. The line from Wady Halfa was only commenced on January 1st, 1897.

**Progress in
the Soudan.**

We have traced some of its progress, and when Lord Kitchener* returned to Cairo for the last time, on November 6th, 1899, though it had been hindered two months by fearful storms, he predicted its completion to Khartoum that year, and promised then to open the Soudan to all travellers. In point of fact, the line did arrive at the opposite bank of the Blue Nile on the last day of the year; and by means of a tourist train, which had been prepared, a few days later tourists actually were set down "within full view of the place where Gordon died." The line is to be extended to Abu Harraz, on the Blue Nile, and may probably thence proceed by Gedaref and Kassala to the Red Sea. The telegraph

southwards is being taken to Uganda by way of Lake Rudolf and the Blue Nile, and has already reached Rosaires.

Partly with a view to water communication with Uganda, and partly in order to improve the irrigation of Egypt itself, extensive operations were also soon undertaken to clear the reaches of the Upper Nile. These were nearly choked by a vast mass of floating vegetation, some living and some decayed, called the "sudd," which checks the flow of the river and wastes vast quantities of its water in useless and injurious malarial exhalations. Early in December, 1899, an expedition, under Major Peake and four other officers, was sent up the river with four steamers and gangs of men. During the following months mass after mass of the sudd was cut through, and divided into portions which were sent floating down the lower river; and on May 17th, 1900, a telegram reached Cairo stating that the last barrier of sudd had been cut, and that Major Peake had carried a gunboat up to Lado. From there he proceeded to the northern parts of Uganda, making that portion of the journey in the Uganda river launch. He reports the river navigable for gunboats up to Bedder, where there are rapids. Even before all the sudd was cut through between Sobat and Uganda in the Bahr-el-Jebel, selected as the best of the two available channels, the river had risen considerably at Sobat and Fashoda; and there is good hope that now the entire waterway is thoroughly cleared, not only will river navigation be possible between Khartoum and Uganda, but that the water supply, so vital to Egypt herself, may be greatly increased, and the regions surrounding the Blue and White Nile changed from malarial swamps into fertile corn-growing districts.

It is impossible not to regret the necessity which took the present and future development of the Soudan out of the able hands which had so far redeemed it from barbarism. But so it was to be. The serious position of affairs in the Boer War obliged the British Government, on December 16th,

* In 1898 the Sirdar was created Baron Kitchener of Khartoum and Aspell in Suffolk, and on a visit to England received the freedom of London and a sword of honour. In June, 1899, he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament and a grant of £30,000 for his distinguished services.

1899, to appoint Lord Roberts Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and Lord Kitchener as Chief of his Staff; and, with his customary promptitude at the call of duty, Lord Kitchener left Omdurman on December 19th to serve his country at the other extremity of the great continent. On December 24th the Khedive issued a special order, warmly eulogising Lord Kitchener's services to the army and the country, culminating in the extinction of Mahdism and the recovery of the Soudan. By a decree of the previous day he had, with the consent of the British Government, appointed Sir Francis R. Wingate Sirdar of the army and Governor-General of the newly conquered territory. Some of the invaluable services of the new Sirdar, both in the Intelligence Department of the army and, later, in its military operations, have already been hinted at; and of his pre-eminent claims to and qualifications for the

succession there can be no doubt, as there is happily none of the good reception which the appointment has received among the subject races.

The greatest difficulty in the administration of the Soudan may probably prove to be the somewhat rival interests of Egypt and of the province itself, arising from the joint Egyptian control. While Egypt defrays part or the whole of any present deficit in the revenue, her own interests require to be studied, and lie in the direction of trade access to the province through Egypt herself. The interests of the Soudan, on the other hand, may possibly be best served by railway communication with Red Sea ports.

Such questions are of considerable importance, and may become of still more as time goes on; but their practical outcome in the future does not fall within the proper scope of this brief record.



(Photo: G. Lekegian & Co., Cairo.)

SIR FRANCIS R. WINGATE.



(Photo: Capt. Swayne, R.E.)

VIEW IN SOMALILAND.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT.

Italian Possessions in Africa—Tripoli and its Hinterland—French Conquest of Madagascar—Aggressions on the Niger—Conflict Barely Averted—Expeditions to the Bahr-el-Ghazal—Major Marchand—French and English at Fashoda—Anglo-French Convention—Final Demarcation of French and English Spheres—French Expeditions to Lake Chad—France and Morocco—England and Germany in Africa—The Samoan Agreement—The Congo Free State—Atrocities of Belgian Officers—Changes in Administration of French Colonies in Africa—Changes in British Administration—End of Government by the Companies—Uganda—The Niger Territories—Commercial Development in Africa—The Gold Coast and Ashanti—The Future of the Natives.

THE reconquest of the Soudan by England and Egypt had more or less direct connection with the settlement of various questions which had been pending in regard to other European Powers. One of the first of these, and the most directly connected with it, was the settlement and final delimitation of Italian possessions in the north-east of the great continent. After the capture of Kassala, and in consequence of further successes by General Baratieri, the northern Abyssinian province of Tigré had been formally annexed to the colony of Eritrea; and the hope of

succeeding to Menelek's entire dominions, either directly or by protectorate, was scarcely veiled. But the dream was of short duration. We have seen how the Abyssinian army terribly reversed the state of matters in the battle of Adowa, and how the critical state of affairs in regard to the important post of Kassala forced the hand of the British Government, and hastened the commencement of the Soudan campaigns. By the treaty of Adis Abeba, on October 26th, 1896, the whole of the northern provinces were restored to Abyssinia, whose absolute

independence was also recognised; and how Kassala was handed over to Anglo-Egyptian rule has already been narrated.

Italian possessions in Africa are now, therefore, confined to Eritrea on the Red Sea and the Somali coast. The former province extends from Cape Kasai, about 670 miles

Italy.

along the coast to a point near the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, where the small French territory of Obock separates it from British Somaliland. It extends about 200 miles inland; the boundary with Abyssinia being fixed by a Commission, and that between it and Egyptian territory delimited in December, 1898. The Somaliland territory is separated by the river Juba from British East Africa, and stretches northward round Cape Guardafui till it reaches the British Somali Protectorate, the latter thus separating the two Italian colonies. Inland this territory extends for a uniform distance of 180 miles from the coast, the country behind belonging to Abyssinia by the treaty above mentioned. The final delimitation of these territories leaves Tripoli as the sole remaining object in Africa for Italy's hopes or ambitions. These are still cherished; so much so that the Anglo-French agreement of March, 1899, presently referred to, caused much discussion in the Italian Parliament, lest it should cut off the trade routes between Tripoli and Central Africa. Both contracting parties assured the Italian Government that the agreement was purely one by which each Power abstained from certain districts; that they had no designs upon Tripoli; and that they would do nothing to interfere with the trade routes in question. But the long-coveted territory opposite Italy remains an open question, which may obviously raise others in the not very distant future, when the "European Concert" shall no longer agree to prop up the decaying Ottoman Empire.

Between Great Britain and France many questions have arisen of a far more acute character. It has been the fashion on the

Continent to accuse England of a special and constant appetite for the acquisition of more territory: but for many years past any progress on her part has been far outweighed by the fresh appropriations of both France and Germany, whilst our own story has shown too often how British unwillingness and lethargy have positively lost most legitimate spheres of influence. This difference is emphasised by the almost purely military character of Continental colonisation as compared with the commercial colonies of the expanding Anglo-Saxon race; and in the case of France especially, her restlessness, ambition, and the military character of her colonial expansions in Africa have more than once brought about a critical state of relations between the two countries.

The first marked symptom of French aggression upon well-understood British interests was, perhaps, the conquest and annexation of Madagascar in 1895-96, but we pass it by here with bare mention, as not belonging strictly to the story of Africa. The country had been evangelised by English missionaries, and its trade was in British hands; and both the ruthless confiscation of mission property and trade interests by the French conquerors, and the practically forcible conversion of the defenceless natives to Romanism, aroused much feeling in England; but the annexation was acceded to by the British Government. Disputes soon followed on the continent itself; the first to arise concerning the Niger territories. The intrigues of Lieutenant Mizon, carried on under the disguise of innocent travel, have been referred to in the former portion of this volume; but more definite aggression was to come. England had always claimed the kingdom of Bornu, and the Royal Niger Company possessed treaties with the king of that province as far back as 1890; but in 1894 it was deemed advisable to send Captain Lugard to Nikki and conclude a new treaty, which was dated November 10th. Subsequently a French expedition also arrived

French Aggressions.

at Nikki, and by threats procured another treaty signed on November 26th; while in May, 1895, two additional French expeditions reached Say and Boussa respectively. French forces further raided into the British Nupé country, and a French gunboat began to patrol the Niger; but the latter proceeding was subsequently apologised for upon energetic remonstrances from the British Government. In January, 1896, it was agreed to appoint commissioners to delimitate the territories in this region; but notwithstanding this agreement, in March, 1897, it became known that the town and territory of Boussa had been occupied by French troops. This had been done in the face, not only of native treaties, but of a formal notification by Great Britain two years before that Boussa was a British protectorate. Later in the year news was received of actual conflicts being barely averted between French and British forces; and at the November Guildhall banquet of that year Lord Salisbury spoke of the state of affairs as very serious. Colonel Lugard actually left England in March, 1898, to take command of the British West African forces in case of need.

All this time the Anglo-French Commission already appointed was actually sitting; and, owing to the conciliatory disposition of Lord Salisbury, was fortunately enabled to come to a settlement before matters arrived at a final rupture. His principal concessions were to surrender Say and Nikki to the French; the latter, on the other hand, having to retire from Ilo, Boussa, Kishi, and Boria, yielding up the rest of Bornu and the whole territory of Sokoto. The northern boundary of Sokoto was also delimited to the shore of Lake Chad. By September Bornu had been evacuated by the French and occupied by British troops, and a very dangerous crisis was thus brought to an end; though it was felt that England had sacrificed much in order to secure, if possible, peace with France, and regret was especially expressed that the Gold Coast Colony had been allowed to be cut off

from any communication with the Niger Territory.

Another and more serious crisis was to follow. So far back as 1895 rumours became prevalent that France was pushing an expedition from the Ubangi province of her Congo possessions towards the sources of the Nile; but the French Government denied all knowledge of it. The rumours, however, gained in persistence, and the British Government felt obliged to declare in Parliament, through Sir Edward Grey (March, 1895), that any such expedition into the valley of the Nile "would be regarded as an unfriendly act," the diplomatic meaning of which phrase is well known. In spite of this warning, and notwithstanding repeated disclaimers, it appeared subsequently, and especially from an article by M. André Lebon,* the then Minister of the Colonies under the Méline Cabinet, that, not only was the Ubangi expedition under Captain Marchand set on foot, but another, with the same destination of Fashoda, was started from Obock, on the Red Sea, while a diplomatic mission to King Menelek endeavoured also to stir up Abyssinian opposition to the British advance on the Upper Nile. Owing largely to climatic conditions, the expedition from Obock failed; and Menelek also — never more than half-hearted — either neglected or failed to occupy the point so desired by the French. Marchand
at Fashoda. But it was different with the Ubangi expedition under Captain Marchand, and we have already narrated briefly how, almost on the morrow of the memorial service for General Gordon, Lord Kitchener received authentic news of the French occupation of Fashoda.

Captain (since Major) Marchand, who by this expedition earned the right to be regarded as one of the explorers of Africa, was born at Thoissey in 1863, entering the army twenty years later. He first saw service in Senegambia, very early taking part in exploratory work. His journey from the

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, March, 1900.

French Congo to Fashoda was, in truth, a remarkable achievement. He passed for a portion of the way through the Congo State, thence entering the Bahr-el-Ghazal province.

Meshra-el-rek, from which point he had marched to Fashoda by land, reaching it on July 10th, 1898. On August 25th he was attacked there by a large Dervish expedi-



AT BOUSSA, ON THE NIGER.

He had there left small posts at intervals, and, in the face of immense difficulties from the "sudd," and the swamps, and the distance from supplies, put together and brought his small gunboat, the *Faidherbe*, as far as

tion, which he beat off, and was expecting another, with little ammunition to meet it, when all fear of this kind was removed by the arrival of the Sirdar's expedition. To use the words of Lord Kitchener's despatch,

"It is impossible not to entertain the highest admiration for the courage, devotion, and indomitable spirit displayed by Captain Marchand's expedition."

Compliments apart, however, and though both commanders treated each other with distinguished courtesy, the situation was very grave. Marchand stated that he had only carried out his orders to occupy the Bahr-el-Ghazal, and that until he received orders to the contrary he must remain at Fashoda, or, if necessary, die there. On the other hand, Lord Kitchener had orders to establish British authority, and to protest against any other. Finally it was agreed that the question should be referred home, while the Egyptian flag should be hoisted over a British post to be also established. The Sirdar established another post at Sobat, and made arrangements to prevent any reinforcements or further supplies from reaching the French officer; at the same time, however, himself supplying him with provisions that were badly needed. Thus the matter was left for diplomacy to settle, a message from the French Government, asking for a further and immediate copy of the report which he had already despatched for the information of his Government, being forwarded by British communications to Captain Marchand, and he himself (with the report) immediately returning to Europe by the same means.

This time the British Government stood firm, absolutely insisting upon both the Bahr-el-Ghazal province, and Fashoda in particular, being evacuated. Public feeling ran very high in both countries; but in November the evacuation of Fashoda was agreed upon, and in March, 1899, an agreement was signed by which the two Governments of France and England agreed upon a line separating the kingdom of Wadai from the province of Darfur, and further south defining the frontier of the Bahr-el-Ghazal province; and each Power bound itself not to acquire either territory or influence to the west or east of this line respectively. Equality

of commercial treatment was also agreed upon through the region between 5° and $14^{\circ} 20'$ north latitude, and between $14^{\circ} 20'$ east longitude (Lake Tchad) and the Upper Nile. Practically the agreement surrendered Darfur and the Bahr-el-Ghazal to England, whilst, so far as the latter was concerned, Wadai, Kanem, and the country east and north of Lake Tchad were left to France. Italy professed much dissatisfaction in regard to the hinterlands of Tripoli; but the answer to any such objections was the simple one that the two contracting parties were merely renouncing all rights in certain districts so far as themselves alone were concerned.

Questions were thus finally settled which had become very pressing if peace was to be preserved between the two nations. But the convention was bitterly attacked in nearly all the French papers, and there have been many signs ever since that the compulsory withdrawal from Fashoda has stirred up in France a blind resentment against England, which at times passed all bounds, has never quite died away, and, unless it is moderated, may yet possibly entail grave consequences. Even this, however, is preferable to national forces actually fronting each other, as had been the case on two occasions; and the settlement of these international boundaries by written conventions was felt to be a relief by all parties. On January 23rd, 1900, a Commission left Paris to settle the boundary, from the river Okpara to the Niger, between Dahomey and the Niger Territory, in accordance with the Niger Convention, of which the Fashoda agreement was now made a supplement and part; and the day following France signed a protocol delimitating with Italy their respective boundaries at the Red Sea, and leaving to the latter Power the caravan routes to Assab, in the interior. A Commission settling the boundary between Dahomey and the German colony of Togoland returned to Marseilles in the same month, having accomplished its task.

The comparison of any coloured map of

Africa at the present date with one of thirty years ago will show not only how greatly France has surpassed all other nations, except perhaps Germany, in the rapidity and extent of her recent acquisitions, but how far she surpasses all in regard to their unity and homogeneous character. Except the small territory of Obock, on the Red Sea, there is no part of her African dominions

Voulet, both Voulet and Chanoine being subsequently killed by their own men. Another and larger expedition left Biskra, in Algeria, on September 24th, 1898, under M. Fernand Fourneau (who had been already awarded our Royal Geographical Society's gold medal for his Saharan explorations) and Major Lamy. The object of this expedition was to open up a route between southern



SKETCH-MAP SHOWING THE BOUNDARY OF THE SUDAN.

which is not connected with the rest. Her attempts to take actual possession of this vast territory have been, naturally, somewhat costly, and particularly the many expeditions to the neighbourhood of Lake Tchad. One of these, under Captains Voulet and Chanoine, left France in July, 1898, by way of St. Louis and the Niger. Owing to the gravest charges of cruelty against its leaders, Colonel Klobb was sent out to supersede them, but was murdered by Captain

Algeria and the French Sudan, and to make surveys for the revived project of a trans-Saharan railway from the Mediterranean to Lake Tchad. From time to time reports of the massacre of this expedition reached Europe through native sources, but in 1900 it finally reached its destination. The ultimate destruction of fanatical Mohammedan power around the lake can only be a gain for civilisation, and for all the Powers whose territories and interests now converge here.

The most recent advances of France have been on the border between Algeria and Morocco, where the boundary is by no means defined. At the beginning of 1900 Insala was occupied, and troops were further moved forward towards Touat, through what had always been regarded as Moorish territory, though France will probably claim up to the Wady Saura. Any questions thus raised, outside of Morocco itself, only concern Spain. The latter Government, as might be expected, has shown considerable jealousy and irritation.

Germany and England have also delimited their respective spheres. The principal open question between them was a square of territory, which will be found on maps prior to 1900, known as the "neutral zone," between Ashanti and Togoland, which, by an agreement made in March, 1888, neither party was to annex. By the Samoan Agreement, announced at Berlin on November 8th, 1899, this territory was finally divided, so that (we quote the Foreign Office official version) "the frontier between the German and English territories shall be formed by the river Daka as far as the point of its intersection with the 9th degree of north latitude; thence the frontier shall continue to the north, leaving Marozuga to Great Britain, and shall be fixed on the spot by a mixed Commission of the two Powers in such manner that Gamboga and all the territories of Mamprusi shall fall to Great Britain, and that Zendi and all the territories of Chakosi shall fall to Germany." Roughly, the division gives about one-third of the territory to Germany, and two-thirds to Great Britain. Germany, by the same agreement, renounced her extra-territorial jurisdiction in the island of Zanzibar. The terms of a further secret agreement between England and Germany, in regard to possible eventualities on the east coast of Africa, have not yet been allowed to transpire.

In regard to the Congo Free State recent events have left matters rather unsettled, though no definite change has taken place

since the arrangements described in pp. 290-94. As narrated there, Germany nullified the convention with Great Britain so far as the "wasp-waist" lease to England was concerned, and France negatived, with a view to her own claims, the lease of the Bahr-el-Ghazal to Belgium. This left only a corner of territory, which recent surveys have however shown to include Rejaf and Lado, as leased to Belgium. Since then the coveted Bahr-el-Ghazal has been relinquished to England. There would have been the less excuse for giving way to Belgian ambitions in the matter of the Bahr-el-Ghazal in that as time goes on fresh evidence continues to accumulate of gross barbarity and cruelty on the part of Belgian officers in the Congo State. In August, 1895, intelligence was received that Captain Lothaire had summarily executed without trial an English trader and missionary named Stokes, whose influence in the country had interfered with the compulsory rubber raids of the Belgian authorities. The captain was soon afterwards created major, and a mock trial at Brussels next year was a mere fulsome eulogy of the accused on the part of the prosecuting counsel, as well as of the defendant's. Further allegations of great cruelty towards the natives, said to be murdered and mutilated in order to compel villages to bring in rubber, nevertheless soon compelled King Leopold to appoint a permanent Commission for the "protection of natives, and to lay down certain regulations," which was done in September, 1896. Notwithstanding all this, accounts continued to arrive of most revolting atrocities upon the blacks, in which the same Major Lothaire and his subordinates appear deeply implicated. So lately as April, 1900, a debate took place in the Chamber at Brussels, in which the Foreign Minister explained that the Belgian Government had no real power, but "can ask that the Congo Free State shall avoid a recurrence of the incidents referred to." There is no doubt of the King's good intentions; but while the class of men described in former pages of this work are sent out, in the absence



MAP OF AFRICA SHOWING HOW IT HAS BEEN DIVIDED AMONG THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

of genuine colonists, with power to work their will upon defenceless natives, it is to be feared that a State so controlled may remain, so far from being a credit to philanthropy, a stain upon European civilisation.

If, however, a few pending questions yet remain for settlement between the Powers of Europe—if in Tripoli and its hinterland, and in Morocco, and in the neighbourhood of the Lakes, possibilities of difficulty cannot be ignored—all present acute questions appear to have been solved. It is natural that such a general solution should have very considerably changed also the conditions of government in the territories involved.

The changes in French administration are perhaps, most remarkable. French West Africa had been for years the chief field for the ambition and activity of French military officers, whose efforts were rewarded or disavowed as occasion served. With the final settlement of boundaries between France and England, there was no further occasion for such activity; yet the military element might still have had strength enough to cling to dominion, had not militarism in France suffered such a terrible blow from the Dreyfus revelations in 1898 and 1899. The results of this enabled the President and M. Decrais, the Minister of Colonies, to issue in 1899 a decree placing all French West Africa under one civilian Governor-General, M. Chaudié. The districts under him are also modified. Of the French Soudan, part is now attached to Senegal, part to the Ivory Coast, part to French Guinea, and part to Dahomey. Two military districts are also formed—one including Timbuctoo and its neighbourhood, the other that of the Volta. Each of these is still under a military officer, while the extended colonies just named are each under a civil governor; but all are under the supreme authority of the Governor-General, and all the troops under one superior officer, the headquarters of both being St. Louis, in Senegal. Say and other important places in the territories are over two thousand miles from St. Louis,

and it is possible that such vast distances may compel somewhat more decentralisation; but in any case the change is decisive from the military to the civil method of administration.

In British territories the change is equally great, but in a somewhat different direction. What the close of the century has witnessed here is the transfer of authority from the great Chartered Companies to the British Government itself. The work these Companies have done has already been narrated; at a critical time they undoubtedly secured for their country territory and advantages which an apathetic Government would have surrendered to the greed of others. Yet the time for "Company" administration sooner or later comes to an end; and we have already seen, in the case of the Imperial British East Africa Company, how incompatible are the interests of shareholders and of effectual administration, and how, in 1893, that Company had of itself surrendered Uganda. By an arrangement made in 1895 it finally surrendered its charter, receiving £50,000 from the British Government and £150,000 from the Sultan of Zanzibar, besides another £50,000 for its tangible assets. Uganda had already been constituted a protectorate; and all the country between it and Zanzibar was now formed into another, under the name of the East African Protectorate, Uganda itself including Unyoro, Usoga, and other territories to the boundary of the Congo Free State.

Events of some interest have since happened in Uganda. Towards the end of 1897 the old Soudanese troops, whose history has been told in connection with the Emin expedition, being ordered on an exploring expedition towards the Upper Nile, mutinied and returned to Usoga, where they occupied a fort, after murdering several British officers. Indian troops were ordered to confront them, and, after hostilities with differing results, the mutineers reached Mkono, in Uganda, where they were finally defeated and dispersed on August 4th, 1898. Mwanga also renewed hostilities, but having joined forces with Kaba

Rega, the villainous ruler whose doings have so often found place in these pages, both were taken prisoners, and their force routed by Lieut.-Colonel Evatt, in April, 1899. It is to be hoped that peace may now be the portion of this long-disturbed country.

The military and supreme rule of the British South Africa Company was brought to an end by the lamentable Jameson Raid of December 29th, 1895, details of which belong to our next chapter. After that event it was impossible to continue arrangements which could make any repetition possible, and Earl Grey was appointed Administrator, while the sole command of all military forces was placed in the hands of Sir Richard Martin as Commandant-General. The charter of the Company was not revoked, and what may be called municipal matters were left in its hands, as well as trading operations and rights within its territories. But an Order in Council, published in November, 1898, vested the government in an Administrator and Resident Commissioner, appointed by the British Government, and an Executive Council of nine others, five to be appointed with the approval of the Government, and four elected. Thus the British Government was secured a controlling power over the supreme direction of the Company. Regulations were also made for civil and criminal jurisdiction.

The last of these great corporations to retain full jurisdiction over its vast territories was the Royal Niger Company, which had done such splendid work and made such good use of the powers it had received. The last great operations under the Company's rule were campaigns, in 1897, against the slave-trading native states of Nupé and Ilorin, made necessary to repel slave raids and other violations of treaty rights. In the case of Nupé the final attack upon Bida was a struggle between 1,000 colonial troops, under British officers, and over 30,000 of the native armies; but in both campaigns the result was a final triumph for British authority and the peace of the distracted districts. The difficulties with France, however, made it desirable that the

territories of the Company should pass more directly under British rule, and in 1899 it was arranged that such a transfer should take place as from the New Year's Day of 1900. The Company were to retain all the trading plant and assets, and still carry on their commercial business; but the British Government assumed all administrative and military powers, the treaties with native states, and sovereign land and mining rights. In return for these and the surrender of the charter, the Government assumed the debt of the Company (amounting to £250,000), paid further sums of £150,000 and £300,000 for the Company's rights and in repayment of expenditure, and £115,000 for specified portions of plant, sites, and steamers. The Company now, therefore, exists simply as the Niger Company, Limited, for business purposes.

For administrative purposes the area of the old colony of Lagos was increased, while the old Niger Protectorate was also extended considerably north. The rest was constituted a new Protectorate of Northern Nigeria. Of this great territory Colonel Lugard, C.B., was appointed Governor, and on January 1st, 1900, an impressive ceremony took place at Lokoja, when the Company's flag was run up for the last time in presence of all available military forces. Colonel Lugard stood by the flagstaff and read a proclamation by which he, in the name of the Crown, took over the government of the territory; after which the old flag was lowered, and the Union Jack run up with an Imperial salute of thirty-one guns.

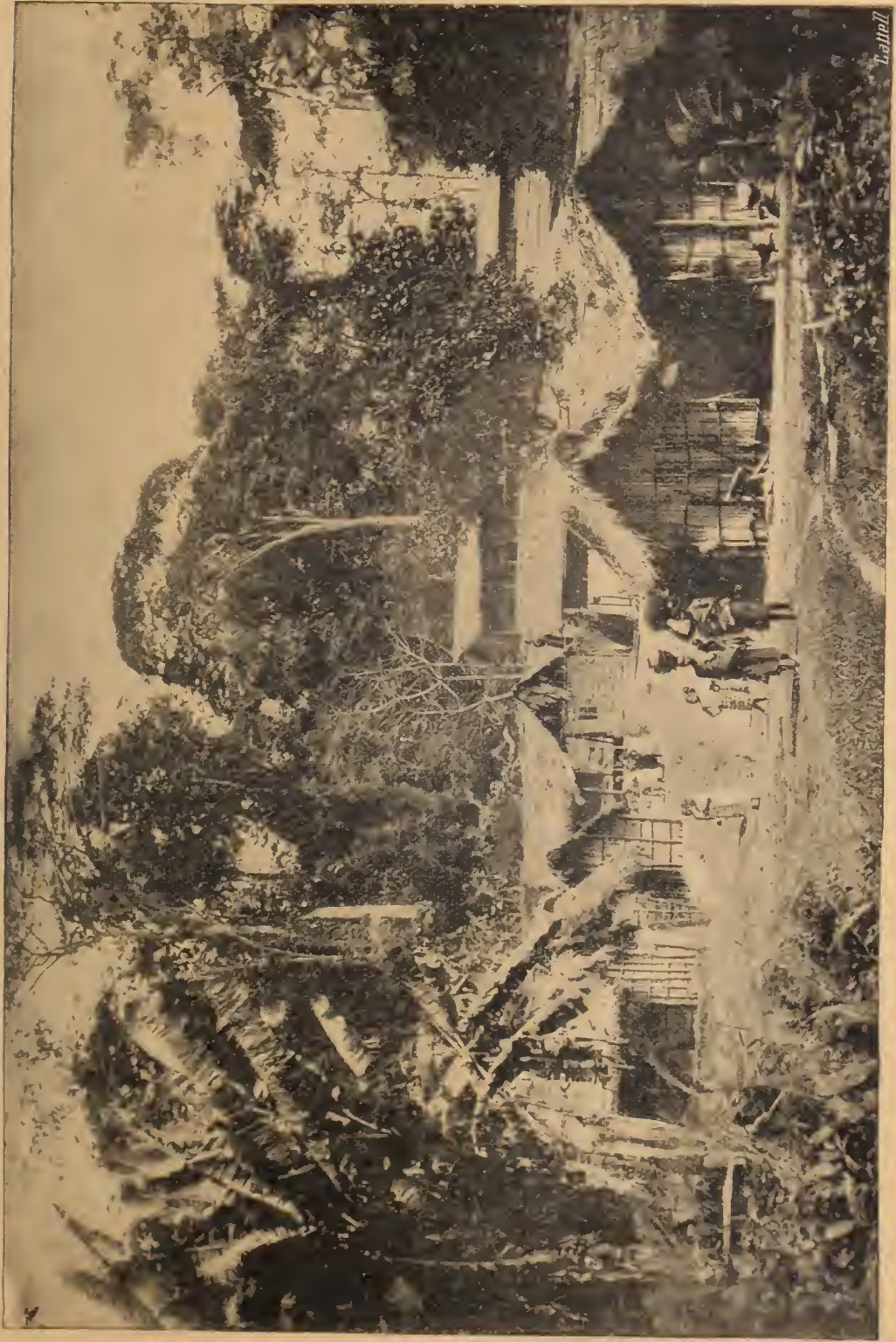
In June, 1900, the West African frontier force of Northern Nigeria, made up chiefly of Hansas and Zorubas, had an opportunity of proving their mettle in the war which had broken out so suddenly in Ashanti. Though unsuspected by the Governor, Sir Frederick Hodgson, an Ashanti revolt had been actively plotted for many months before its outbreak in March, when the British garrison at Kumassi, consisting of two companies of negro troops, found itself surrounded by 40,000 natives. It looked as though the small

English community, composed of the Governor and his wife, and some dozen officials, must inevitably lose their lives, for effective relief forces were not immediately available, and Kumassi had to be reached by a march through mile after mile of dense, sometimes almost impenetrable, forest. A company of Gold Coast Hausa Constabulary made their way into the town on April 23rd, and six days later the defenders were further reinforced by 250 men and a Maxim gun, under Captain Aplin, from Lagos. A third relief column, under Major Morris, started from Gambaga, 340 miles north of Kumassi, in the middle of April, and forced its way into Kumassi, after a rapid and daring march and several skirmishes and battles, on May 15th. The garrison was stronger now, but its condition was still perilous, and the need of a really strong movement—two small columns from the coast having been driven back—became daily more pressing. In these circumstances it was that Colonel (afterwards Sir James) Willcocks undertook the command of the Kumassi Relief Expedition, which, after six weeks' of arduous marching and fighting, gallantly fulfilled its purpose on July 15th. "I am proud of the Yoruba soldiery of the West African Frontier Force, who formed the bulk of the fighting force," wrote Colonel Willcocks in his official account of one of the chief engagements. "Their gallant conduct was the admiration of every officer present at the fight. Their bayonet charge absolutely paralysed the enemy, who at once ceased firing and fled in thousands." After the relief of Kumassi, flying columns were sent out in different directions to attack and disperse the rebels, and destroy stockades and war camps. It was not until November 24th, after a long period of inaction, due to transport difficulties, followed by a decisive battle at Abiasu, and (some weeks later) the capture of the Ashanti ringleader, Kobina Cherri, that Colonel Willcocks was able to report the end of the campaign and the restoration of tranquillity.

With the settlement of territorial and

military questions, the commercial development of Africa has been given a fresh impetus. The development of railways in Egypt and the progress made in clearing the Nile have already been briefly referred to. The railway has now reached Khartoum, and the telegraph considerably further south. At the other extremity of the continent the Cape railway system has been extended as far north as Bulawayo, and is still pushing northwards. If the map be consulted, it will be seen how much is thus already completed, at the two ends, towards Mr. Cecil Rhodes's great conception of a "Cape to Cairo Railway." Mr. Rhodes has also concluded agreements with the German Government (dated March 15th and October 28th, 1899) for the completion of the main line through German territory on the east side of Lake Tanganyika, and practically ensuring also a connection to Great Fish Bay, nearly at the southern border of Portuguese territory on the west coast, which is to traverse and open up German South-West Africa. This branch line, when completed, will bring large districts in Southern Central Africa 1,300 miles nearer Europe than *via* Cape Town.

The main telegraph line is even more advanced. From the Egyptian end it had been carried as far as Rosaires at the end of 1899. At the southern end it runs already through Tete to Blantyre, and thence up the west shore of Lake Nyassa to the southern end of Tanganyika. Thence, by agreement with the German Government, this line also is to go through German territory to Uganda, there to connect with the line from Khartoum. Extensions through German East Africa are also provided for. These arrangements are to be completed by 1905. In many other directions the continent is being opened up. The railway from Mombasa to Uganda, authorised by Parliament in 1895, approaches completion; and so far the traffic returns have considerably exceeded all anticipations. The telegraph to Uganda is already completed, and the junction of these lines with



Tatall

VILLAGE NEAR LOKOJA.

the main trunk from Egypt will probably prove of very great commercial and political importance. We have already seen that France is again surveying for the Trans-Sahara Railway, connecting Algeria with her immense West African territories; and there can be no doubt that sooner or later this great project will be carried out. Even in Abyssinia a line is being constructed from Jibutil to Harar. The Congo Free State is also opened up by the line from Matadi to Stanley Pool around the 200 miles of rapids, the river itself being navigable all the rest of the way as far as Stanley Falls. On all the great lakes and navigable rivers fresh steamers are being placed almost every day.

These developments, and the discoveries of gold which are constantly being made, must in a few years work great changes in the interior of Africa, and most of all upon the

condition and character of the native races. The native problem, and its right solution, is and must remain the greatest difficulty. No other labour is practically possible in such a climate as prevails in large districts of Africa, and the African is not prone to undertake labour voluntarily. This has led to the terrible abuses of which there have been so many hints in these pages. He is also peculiarly susceptible to the deadly influence of alcohol; and unfortunately the Continental nations have shown, so far, little real sympathy with England's genuine efforts to prevent the demoralising traffic in rum and gin. The European settlement is nearly complete; but the history of modern Africa has now to be worked out; and the future of the native, especially, is a subject to cause any thinking man considerable foreboding



Photo: N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

DELAGOA BAY.



Photo: N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.

MARKET SQUARE. BLOEMFONTEIN.

CHAPTER XIX.

BOERS AND BRITISH IN SOUTH AFRICA—THE JAMESON RAID.

Dutch Trekkers and British Authority—The Native Question—Results on Character of the Boers—The Annexation of 1877—The Revolt of 1881—Majuba and the Surrender—The Conventions of 1881 and 1884—Terms never Kept by the Boers—Want of Prosperity—The Gold Discoveries—The Afrikaner Bond—An Anti-British Crusade—The Crusade now Supplied with Gold, and a Leader in Kruger—Reasonableness of Kruger's Plans—Corruption of the Boer Oligarchy—Settlers Deprived of all Rights—Armaments Collected—Foreign Intrigues—Conferences with the Orange State—Alliance Refused by Brand—Change in the Volksraad—The Transvaal National Union—Lord Ripon Asks for a Five Years' Franchise—All Reforms Refused by Kruger—On the Brink of War in 1895—The Jameson Raid—Its Lamentable Results—Equivocal Attitude of Germany—The Second Matabele War—Kruger and the Reform Committee—His Bill for Damages—Parliamentary Inquiry into the Raid—Attack upon the Colonial Secretary, and its Results.

WHILST the questions treated of in the preceding chapter were approaching settlement, a crisis was maturing in South Africa which, if less likely perhaps to lead to European complications—and it has not been free from even that danger—transcended them all in importance as regards Africa itself, and the ultimate development of that country. To understand the broad issues at stake, and how they came to be at issue, some further reference must be made to events which have been mentioned in earlier pages of this volume, but whose real bearing can only at this later date be fully understood and appreciated.

By the Cape of Good Hope Punishment Act of 1836 Great Britain categorically claimed jurisdiction in all parts of South Africa south of latitude 25° (which is north

of Delagoa Bay), and making express exception of such places as might thus fall within Portuguese territory. Dutch emigrants from Cape Colony were repeatedly warned that they could not escape from this jurisdiction: and it was subject to that claim and sovereignty that every successive "trek" took place. Every one of these took place in more or less direct connection with the enslavement of the natives. The British regarded these as having rights, and as subjects to be protected. The Dutch, with their hard Old Testament Calvinism, regarded them as a race "accursed in Canaan," to be used as bond-slaves by the Lord's anointed, who were, of course, themselves.* That the Emancipation Act inflicted

* There is evidence that some Boers, in trekking into the wilderness, believed that they were starting on a pilgrimage towards Jerusalem.

loss upon the Dutch (and upon some English) slave-owners has already been stated. It was so in Jamaica, and has been so in the Southern States of America, and was inevitably so here; but there is no doubt that at the Cape it was made worse by official mismanagement, if not even corruption. It was under these circumstances that the first great trek took place in 1836-37, resulting in the Boer Republic of Natal. There was, however, already a British settlement on the Natal coast; the inevitable native question again arose, and in 1843 Great Britain formally extended her sovereignty over this colony. The more settled and peaceable Dutch remained, but the fiercer and more intolerant trekked again, this time from Natal into the Orange Free State. Great Britain proclaimed her authority over this territory also in 1845, and it was formally annexed in 1848. The Boer leader, Pretorius, resisted, till defeated at Bloemfontein in 1849, after which he and his more turbulent followers trekked a third time, over the Vaal. The slave or native question was the root of the matter in every case, and it was during this period that Livingstone's house was burnt, and he himself narrowly escaped death at the hands of the infuriated Boers.

Only lately has it been fully understood how these successive treks—three in number—operated as a process of "natural selection." On each occasion the more peaceable, steady, well-disposed Dutch remained behind, to become genuine and prosperous agriculturists under British rule, or friendly to it. On the other hand, the more nomadic, truculent, slave-hunting, war-like Boers were as surely sorted out and welded together likewise, three times over. Their love for "liberty" became double-distilled and intensified; but it was a liberty to dwell far away from civilisation, far apart upon boundless acres, each man free from social restraints and legal control, able to do what he pleased, and, above all, to hate the British who had once ruled him, and to make the natives work for him by free use of the rifle and the

sjambok. There is even more that must be said. Living lonely lives among a subject native population, and especially among the native women, with no restraint, many of them sank to almost sheer barbarism, not far above the native level. In too many cases, which can only be hinted at here, native concubinage, combined with the most atrocious cruelty to the poor victims, has not been deemed inconsistent with even membership in the Church. This side of the matter cannot be dwelt upon, but it is necessary to bear it in mind if we are to understand how, in the war of 1899-1900, the same army could supply, on the one hand, many instances of kindness and chivalrous courtesy, and, on the other hand, of treachery, cruelty, pillage, and the most indescribably filthy destruction of private property which ever occurred in a war between white races. Many a Boer then opposed to England was, according to his knowledge, a brave and Christian gentleman; many another was little better than a treacherous, cowardly, dirty savage.

Such were the people to whom the British Government, harassed already by what is known as the third Kaffir War, granted independence by the Sand River Convention of 1852. It can thus be understood why, while they pressed for such independence, the Orange Free State, composed of more peaceable agriculturists, clung strongly to British protection, their independence being literally forced upon them. The latter desired and valued protection for peaceful industry; the thrice-sifted Transvaal Boers clamoured for every man's right to do what he chose, untaxed and untrammelled, in a wilderness of savages. The Transvaalers were not one republic, but four (the origin of the four-coloured flag), who fought against each other as well as against the natives, and the people constantly refused to pay taxes. Not till 1864 were all united even under one government, and even then things went from bad to worse. There were no roads or improvements made, the natives were constantly hostile, and the Boers could not be kept

together in force against them. At last the time came when Sekukuni was actually at war with them, Cetywayo and his Zulus were also preparing for invasion, the interest of the small public debt was unpaid, and the one-pound paper notes of the Republic had sunk to the value of barely a shilling. It was an utter collapse, when the Boers turned to the British Government, and out of a total

have been a misfortune that formal annexation could not have been delayed for even a few months longer, when it is certain that the demand for it must, from sheer necessity, have been imperative and unanimous; but it has since become known (as stated, indeed, by Sir Bartle Frere in a letter dated April 22nd, 1881) that Burgers had been seeking alliances with Germany and other Powers, and Sir



SIR T. SHEPSTONE.

male population of 8,800, no less than 3,000 signed a petition for annexation; what such a proportion means, any election agent knows. When Sir T. Shepstone entered Pretoria on January 22nd, 1877, he had no force beyond twenty-five mounted policemen, and his entry was an occasion of general public rejoicing. President Burgers retired to Cape Town, and all the Boer officials except Joubert, and including Paul Kruger, took service under the British Government. It is seen now to

T. Shepstone had good reason to believe that, if England declined to interfere, Germany would be induced to undertake the "protection" of the Republic, which would have added infinitely to our difficulties in South Africa. This was but the first of several occasions on which that great Continental Power showed signs of a disposition to interfere with England in the settlement of this part of the country.

England's share in this transaction mainly

consisted in the Zulu War thus brought upon her, which cost the country no less than £6,000,000. Their enemies thus vanquished, however, and their treasury saved, the more turbulent Boers began to repent the annexation, now that they had reaped its fruits. Agitation against it was promoted by the fact that Mr. Gladstone in his Midlothian campaign (November, 1879) had condemned in extreme terms the annexation of the Transvaal, and practically pledged himself to repudiate it if returned to power.* Sir T. Shepstone had also promised the Boers that local self-government should be arranged for them; and this promise, partly owing to pressure of the Zulu troubles, but far more owing to the general neglect and dilatoriness of the British Government, had been left unperformed. This was unquestionably a real grievance, which greatly promoted the revolutionary movement. In March, 1880, Mr. Gladstone was returned to power, but, notwithstanding the expectations he had raised,

he absolutely refused, over and over again, to surrender the Queen's sovereignty. It was under these circumstances that the Boers declared, on December 16th, 1880, the independence of the Transvaal, and in the same month treacherously ambushed a company of British troops at Bronker's Spruit. It has since been proved that Irish funds were sent to aid the Boers in this movement, and that the Fenian Aylward was one of the leaders and instigators,

* These portions of his speeches were translated, reprinted, and circulated in the Transvaal.

acting as private secretary to General Joubert.

Nothing need be added concerning the successive defeats by the Transvaal Boers of small British forces at Laing's Nek (January 28th, 1881), Ingogo Heights, and Majuba Hill (February 27th). But certain facts concerning the subsequent surrender deserve record. From and after the first defeat, the then British Government was actually carrying on negotiations with the Boers behind the back

of their own commander. These were begun as early as January 10th, but Sir George Colley never heard of them till February 3rd, and then only indirectly from President Brand, not from his own official superiors! A little later (February 21st), by direction of Lord Kimberley, Sir George informed the Boers direct that the Government were prepared to consider their proposals. "on their ceasing armed opposition," if such a proposal was accepted within forty-eight hours. It was not accepted, and, instead of the opposition in arms ceasing,



SIR GEORGE COLLEY.

Majuba Hill followed on February 27th, when 420 British soldiers, strongly entrenched, were seized with panic and ignominiously routed by 155 Boer burghers! It was after this contemptuous treatment of actual peaceable overtures, and such a really disgraceful defeat, that the surrender was made, which every surviving member of Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet in 1899 admitted to have been a deplorable mistake. Such a people were far beneath the possibility of appreciating "the finest thing in history"; inherently incapable of seeing in it anything

more than fear and cowardly surrender, extorted by their own superior prowess. In point of fact, from that day forward there was manifest in their whole attitude towards England a truculence, and swagger, and offensively expressed contempt, which had never previously marked the general relations between the two races.

The British Government, however, made its intentions quite clear. The preamble to the Convention of 1881 stated that the Commissioners did "undertake and guarantee" that complete self-government would be "accorded" to the Transvaal territory, subject to the suzerainty of Her Majesty. The boundaries were strictly defined. The Commissioners in conference also stipulated for "equal privileges" for all white men, to which President Kruger had replied, "We make no difference so far as burgher rights are concerned," but hinted that they might possibly make "some slight difference in the case of a young person who has just come into the country." When Sir Michael Hicks-Beach moved a resolution in Parliament condemning the settlement, the Government decided not to meet it by a negative, but by a declaratory amendment (moved by Mr. Rathbone and seconded by Sir H. Fowler), which defined the policy of the Government to be (1) "to guard the interests of the natives; (2) to provide for the *full liberty and equal treatment* of the entire white population; and (3) to promote harmony and goodwill among the various races in South Africa." This amendment was carried by a majority of 109. Equal rights for all white inhabitants did at that date exist in the Transvaal; and the British Government so far misunderstood the character of the Boers as to trust the word of President Kruger that this state of things should be continued.

The latter, on his part, from the very first disregarded or evaded his obligations. Slavery, or "apprenticeship" of natives, was forbidden; almost immediately a war with the chief Mapoch was made the excuse for portioning 8,000 "apprentices" among the

Boers who had taken part in it. The frontiers had been strictly defined; aggression on all sides was at once commenced, and in Bechuanaland two subsidiary republics were set up, and named on German maps as Stellaland and Goshen, within two years. He was not to negotiate with foreign Powers except through the British Government; he at once began energetically to cultivate foreign relations, particularly with Holland and Germany. And an agitation was begun for a revision of the Convention, which was effected in 1884.

The preamble of this latter Convention embodied the claim of paramountcy as clearly as before, stating that whereas certain representations had been made, and "whereas Her Majesty has been pleased to take the said representations into consideration," she "*has been pleased to direct, and it is hereby declared,*" that articles then following shall, when ratified by the Volksraad, "*be substituted for the articles embodied in*" the previous Convention. The Boer delegates had pressed for entire independence, and permission to negotiate their foreign affairs uncontrolled, and to be free from interference in regard to native affairs especially, all which were categorically refused; but permission was accorded to call the state the South African Republic, and the control of its foreign relations was defined as the submission for approval of all treaties, which might within six months be sanctioned or disallowed by the British Government. The boundaries were defined nearly as before, and slavery, or "apprenticeship," of the blacks was again categorically prohibited.

This Convention was never, from the very first, any better kept than the preceding; there was the same resolute persistence in the attempt to throw off British authority, to coquet with foreign Powers, to absorb more territory, and to exploit the natives. Mr. Kruger himself visited Holland and Germany as soon as the ink was dry, and personally arranged for that immigration which has had such disastrous effects; and in 1885 there

was a great deal of actual palaver about a German protectorate, then supposed "to mean nothing" (see p. 172), but now known to have—in intention, at least—meant a great deal. The trek to Stellaland and Goshen went on unchecked, until, all official remonstrances being unavailing, Sir Charles Warren was sent with a military force to Bechuanaland to compel submission. Then submission was sullenly yielded, but it cost Great Britain two millions thus to compel bare compliance with the Convention which Kruger had signed. That very same year his Boers further invaded Zululand, and made conquests there which England reluctantly condoned and recognised in 1887. No sooner was that question settled than the subjugation of Swaziland was taken in hand, an aggression also ultimately recognised by England. Annexation of Tongaland also was attempted; but Great Britain was now more alive to the forces at work, and in 1887 declared that country and its coast a British protectorate, which was extended to the Portuguese boundary in 1895. Finally, in 1890, another great trek was organised into Rhodesia; but this was met by the British High Commissioner with a Bechuanaland force, who informed the President that persistence would be regarded as an act of war. Thus only was the insatiable aggression of the Boers finally brought to an end.

Notwithstanding all this misdirected activity, the Boer Republic did not prosper. The neighbouring Free State, also Afrikaner, pursuing the ordinary methods of civilisation and peaceful industry, prospered exceedingly, growing in wealth and contentment; but the semi-barbarian Boers, when left alone, simply retrograded. In 1884, the very year of the second Convention, when its modest expenditure only amounted to £184,000, the revenue was only £143,000, and was declining; and at the beginning of 1886 the state was practically bankrupt. A people which would make no roads, and build no bridges, and pay no taxes, could enjoy no real prosperity by themselves, and there actually began to be talk

that England might have to be entreated to annex the Transvaal once again. But before the end of this latter year the gold discoveries made on the Rand the year previously had utterly changed the state of affairs. This has already been recorded (p. 155), but it is necessary to explain how it not only brought about a struggle for elementary rights between the Boers and men of other nationalities, as even then anticipated, but co-operated with other causes to bring about the great Dutch revolt against British authority.

The chief of these co-operating causes was the Dutch organisation known as the Afrikaner Bond, which was founded so long ago as 1882. The chief founders were Mr. F. Reitz, a lawyer, who successively became Chief Justice and President of the Orange Free State, and at the time of the great revolt was State Secretary of the Transvaal; Carl Borekenhagen, a German, editor of *The Bloemfontein Express*; and the Rev. S. du Toit, editor of *De Patriot*. Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr was also an early member, and to some extent was for many years a moderating influence over the more violent anti-British efforts of his colleagues, the result being that the Bond was at first a mainly political body, organising the Dutch party for the furtherance of more or less legitimate aims. Even so its influence was retrograde, opposing as it did an efficient Scab Act, excise and liquor laws, railway extension, and every measure for either the education or moral improvement of the natives. But it did make for political and party life at that period, and was not regarded unfavourably in political circles.

But all this soon changed, as the further British surrender in the second Transvaal Convention of 1884 bore its evil fruit. On February 7th, 1881, in appealing for assistance to President Brand of the Free State, Kruger had predicted as the result and as his object, "Freedom shall rise in South Africa, as freedom rose in the United States of America. Then shall it be, from the Zambesi to Simon's Bay, Africa for the Afrikaner."

Du Toit now wrote in his *De Patriot*: "There is one hindrance to confederation, and that is the English flag. Take that away, and it would follow in a year under the free Afrikaner flag. They [the English]

must just have Simon's Bay as a naval and military station on the road to India, and hand over all the rest to the Afrikaners."

He exhorted a vigorous anti-English propaganda in the villages and districts: "No English signboards, no English advertisements, no English book-keepers," adding that "English was simply a miscellaneous gibberish, without proper grammar or dictionary; English history a concatenation of lies and misrepresentations; England was only a small island in the North Sea." He advocated the boycotting of all English and the support of Continental firms, the manufacture in the country of munitions of war, the establishment of standing armies, and the refusal to sell any land to English settlers. The attitude of these men, even at such a comparatively

early date, may be best understood by a few sentences from a speech made, so long ago as 1885, by Mr. J. X. Merriman, so far himself from being any British partisan, as to be Treasurer in 1899-1900 of the Cape Bond Ministry under Mr. Schreiner, and resigning in 1900 as a Bond "extremist." "It is not a question of party politics, but it is a question whether the Cape Colony is to continue to be an integral part of the British Empire. The question is whether we intend to progress along the line of freedom, of civilisation, and respect for law and order, or are ready to take the Transvaal for a model, and have our policy shaped by the Afrikaner Bond. . . . From the very first time, some years ago, when the poison began to be distilled into the country, I felt that it must come to this:

Was England or the Transvaal to be the paramount force in South Africa? . . .

As to the other doctrines of the Bond, in reference to restriction of commercial progress and the non-education of women, these are errors of judgment: my quarrel with the Bond is that it stirs up race difference. Its main object is to make the South African Republic the paramount Power in South Africa. That is the reason of its hostility to John Brand, the Afrikaner of Afrikaners, a true friend to the English, but one who has governed his state and is jealous of all its privileges." This was in 1885; but at

that date, although the Bond had already done considerable mischief in severing friendships, introducing bitterness between neighbours, stirring up protests against the Convention of 1881, and supporting the Transvaal in the filibustering raids above mentioned, it appeared unlikely that the movement could become a really serious national peril. What made it so was the discovery of the gold mines on the Rand, which for the first time

placed vast sums of money at the disposal of the Boer propaganda, henceforward to be engineered by President Kruger.

Looking at the matter in the light of history, it cannot fairly be called either a criminal or a hopeless ambition which the latter now set himself to further. A Dutch Boer could not be expected to look at the matter with British eyes, nor can be much blamed for seeking the aggrandisement of his own race; and as to any hopelessness of his aims, and the consequent disasters which must result, the cost to England of the war which ultimately resulted, is in some sense his justification. It is to be remembered that he had been given too much reason to expect, in the last resort, submission on the part of the British Government. He had not only



PRESIDENT BRAND.

seen what a petty defeat, combined with the fear of further trouble,* might wring from it, but the same Government had actually forced retrocession and independence, unasked and even most vehemently opposed, upon the Free State. Mr. Cecil Rhodes himself—by no means Imperialist then—had declared that “the time had come for the elimination of the Imperial factor” from South African affairs; and Governor Sir P. Wodehouse had announced that England had no Imperial interests in South Africa outside of Cape Town and Simon’s Bay, and that no Imperial intervention need be expected in South African affairs, unless to protect the natives from the rapacity of the colonists. It is scarcely to be wondered at if Kruger believed in success; and condemnation must be chiefly reserved for the wholesale system of corruption and flagrant deceit by which he sought to compass his aims.

The means were now provided by the discoveries of gold on the Rand, which changed everything as if by magic (p. 156). One of the President’s first steps was to invite that horde of Hollander and German adventurers who worked the State so much evil, and to gather round him a circle of Boer adherents also, largely family connections, who should form a corrupt oligarchy, devoted to his plans and their own pecuniary interests. In the year 1886, the first “gold” year, when the revenue had gone up with a bound from £196,000 to £637,000, the official salaries stood at £51,000; at the end of thirteen years the salary list amounted to £1,216,394, a sum equal to £40 per annum for every adult male of the entire Boer population! But this was only a portion of the corruption which prevailed in the little oligarchy that now ruled

though still calling itself a Republic. Monopolies were shamelessly sold, which enriched individuals at the expense of the real taxpayers. The dynamite monopoly, which more than doubled the price of the greatest necessity of gold-mining, was worth to the owner £35,000 annually, to a certain member of the Executive Council £10,000 more, and to other members smaller annual sums. A favourite of the President obtained the distillery monopoly, which yielded a large fortune; another obtained the sole manufacture of cigars. Hundreds of thousands annually were secured by direct bribery amongst members of the Volksraad, and absolute malversation of public funds was discovered to an enormous extent.* Concessions for articles like soap and chocolate were given to foreigners who supported the Kruger administration; and such heavy duties as 7s. 6d. per 100 lbs. of flour, meal, and grain; £4 10s. on 100 lbs. of bacon, 6d. per dozen on eggs, 40 per cent. value on jam, 20 per cent. value on butter, were imposed upon imports of even food products, which the Boers produced and the settlers consumed.

Simultaneously with all this, settlers were deprived of political rights. When the 1881 Convention was signed, there was no inequality. In 1882 a great difference was made, but a settler still obtained the franchise

**Transvaal
corruption.**

* The Government’s own Report for 1897 showed defalcations of officials to the amount of £18,000. A debate in the Volksraad in 1898 elicited that nearly £2,500,000 had since 1883 been “advanced” to officials, and was unaccounted for. Some of this may have been for “secret service” (besides the £36,000 annually so allotted) or for munitions of war. In June, 1900, during the trial at Brussels of an action by the Transvaal Government against the concessionaires for the Selati Railway, it was given in evidence that the concessionaires had spent enormous sums in bribes at Pretoria. Twenty-two out of the twenty-four members of the Volksraad had each received a present of a carriage. To Kruger himself was paid £4,000; to Madame Kruger, £1,000 and a carriage and horses; to Commandant Eloff (Kruger’s son-in-law), £500 in cash and £1,000 in shares; to General Smit (Vice-President of the Republic), £500 in cash and £1,000 in shares; and many smaller sums to less important people.

* Lord Kimberley, one of the surviving members of the Majuba Cabinet, stated in 1900 that a leading motive for the surrender was the probability of serious difficulty, if it were not made, with both the Free State and the Dutch inhabitants of Cape Colony. President Brand, it may be added, at the Conference of Newcastle, practically arranged, and may almost be said to have dictated, the terms of the Convention of 1881.

after five years' residence, on payment of a fee, registration, and the oath of allegiance; and such conditions were not unreasonable, to ensure that those voting really meant to live in the country and had a stake in it. But in 1890 the term was raised to fifteen years of residence; and between then and 1894 further conditions and restrictions were added, which made it practically *impossible* for any settler ever to acquire the franchise,

Meantime large sums were spent in "secret service" on the Continent, under Dr. Leyds; modern arms and ammunition were steadily collected,* and the instruction and organisation of an artillery was placed in German hands. A fort was erected which commanded the town of Johannesburg, and had no other possible use. Portugal was stirred up to confiscate the Delagoa Railway, built with British and American money;† and how far



(Photo: N. P. Edwards, Littlehampton.)

A BOER CATTLE FARM.

except at the will of the Boer district officers. Thus, those who paid nine-tenths of all the taxation were entirely divested of political rights; and with this loss they soon found themselves also deprived of civil rights. State aid for schools was expressly confined to such as taught in the Dutch language, and in Johannesburg the State alienated all local sources of revenue, yet refused assent to loans for public lighting and other necessary works. The settlers were left at the mercy of a Boer police, which maltreated them upon the slightest provocation, and exposed them to daily insults and indignities. In 1894 even the right of public meeting was interfered with.

* It has been often stated that all this was only after the Jameson Raid. In 1894 an order for £100,000 was placed with Messrs. Krupp, and another of similar amount with Austrian firms. Krupp's order included two of the largest guns then known. In 1895 another order for £100,000 was placed with Krupp for field guns of long range: and in that year, before the Raid, one of the grievances set forth by the settlers was that the money wrung from them by unfair extortion was spent largely upon armaments and forts, which could only possibly be turned against their own country.

† This confiscation was subsequently made the subject of arbitration (in Switzerland) between the Portuguese Government and England and America. Portugal was ordered, beside a sum of £28,000 already paid, to pay the further sum of 15,314,000 francs in Swiss currency. This represented about one-half of the sum the line actually cost, and was another proof of what justice England had to expect from any Continental "arbitration."

intrigue must have gone with Germany is shown by a statement made in 1895 by Baron M. von Marsehall, German Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the Reichstag, to the effect that the maintenance of the independence of the Transvaal, as set forth in the Convention of 1884, was a cardinal point of German policy, and that any attack upon it "would be considered as seriously affecting German interests."

Foreign
Intrigues.

There was another important branch of the great conspiracy, viz. to unite against England's supremacy all the Dutch elements in South Africa. In Cape Colony and Natal this was mainly done through the Bond, who were now furnished with ample funds for the propaganda; but there still remained the task of attaching the considerable forces at command of the Free State. To gain command of these, President Kruger now bent his energies, and in 1887 arranged two secret Conferences between himself and his nominees and the Free State authorities.*

The first was held at Mr. Kruger's house in Pretoria on May 31st and June 1st and 2nd, 1887, the President being accompanied by his State Secretary and Attorney and several members of his Volksraad, the Free State being represented by Messrs. Fraser, Klynveyd, and Myburgh. The Free State's object was a treaty which should secure amity, commerce, and progress, and especially a railway across their state between Cape Town and Pretoria, which would develop their resources and business; they also wanted a General Customs Union. But Kruger would have none of these things, and was solely hinting at some secret policy, at "independence," at "the enemy." He insisted on the desired railway not being built until his own separate Delagoa line was completed. "If the Free State will not work with us," he says, "we shall make our own harbour on our

own borders.* If you build your line, I will not let it join mine." Mr. Fraser suggested that a harbour meant forts and ships and sailors, or else it would be at the mercy of a gunboat; to which Kruger replied, that once the Transvaal had a harbour, *foreign Powers could intervene in its affairs*, and the Transvaal "must get into touch" with such foreign Powers. Mr. F. Wolmarans (of the Volksraad) added: "We have had much experience of Her Majesty's Government, and we will, and must, shake ourselves free and become independent. We are still insufficiently prepared. We wish to get to the sea, more especially with an eye to future complications. Let us first get to the sea and achieve our independence." On June 3rd the Transvaal Volksraad, in secret session, authorised a secret treaty, by which the Transvaal was to pay the Free State £20,000 annually for sacrificing its own railway, and there was to be an offensive and defensive alliance between the two states. This treaty was decisively rejected by the Free State.

Then Kruger came with Leyds and another deputation to a second secret Conference at Bloemfontein, held in October of the same year, this time President Brand himself attending. Brand again suggested various practical and useful provisions for the development of the two states; but Kruger replied that in face of the "common enemy,"

* See *The Times*, May 24th, 1900, in which much fuller detail is given. The article is based upon the minutes of the Conferences taken by Mr. Fraser, one of the Free State delegates.

* At this time there is no doubt that the President was already scheming to annex Tongaland and its harbour of Kosi Bay. A few years later, in 1890, Joubert came to England, and a Convention was agreed to on the part of Great Britain which, under only necessary control by the paramount Power, granted the Republic an area of ten miles radius from Kosi Bay as a port, and the right to build a railway, thus satisfying all merely commercial necessities. But this was not what was wanted, and it was never ratified; and in 1894, when another Convention finally placed Swaziland under Transvaal jurisdiction, the Boers actually refused to include in it these provisions of 1890. With Swaziland in their power, they more than ever expected somehow to obtain Kosi Bay, free of all conditions; but this was prevented by the British Government, now alive to what was intended, at once annexing, through Lord Ripon, the entire territory between Swaziland and the sea, as before stated.

and the dangers threatening the two Republics, an offensive and defensive alliance was the indispensable point. Brand wanted to know where was the danger, or the "common enemy," and said the Transvaal would need no such alliance if its own policy were peaceful and cautious; but finally he suggested a Federal Union. This would have enabled the Free State in some degree to control Kruger, however, which the latter had no idea of permitting; and finally Kruger retired from the Conference discomfited. But in the following year President Brand died, and was succeeded by Reitz, who in 1889 induced his Volksraad to conclude a conditional defensive alliance. Even he could get no further till after the Jameson Raid; but one of the disastrous results of this was the offensive and defensive alliance concluded by Steyn at Pretoria in 1897, which at last crowned Kruger's efforts, and brought about the war.

Meantime friction between the Boers and the mining and commercial settlers, colloquially termed Uitlanders [Out-landers = foreigners], became yearly more and more acute. In 1890 there was keen distress owing to the high price of the necessaries of life, caused by the system of taxation already alluded to, and the refusal of the Government to carry out the necessary railways "for fear of endangering the independence of the Republic." Deputations and memorials had no result, till at last Sir Donald Currie visited the President and obtained a delusive promise that the mining population should be accorded a voice in legislation affecting their industry. The promise was carried out in a very characteristic way, which further promoted Kruger's designs. The old Volksraad, which had occasionally shown some signs of independent judgment, was divided into two separate halves, now called the First and Second respectively. In the Second the Uitlanders were allowed a restricted amount of representation, and to it was entrusted the preparation of measures affecting mining. But over these the President and First Raad had an absolute veto; and, as a matter of

fact, every measure proposed by the Second Raad for the redress of any grievance, economic or otherwise, was persistently rejected. This was not, however, all the effect of the change, or even the principal one. The President now had to deal with a much smaller and carefully picked chamber of only twenty-one members (later on the number was increased to twenty-four), instead of the larger and more independent body; and, as a result, corruption became more rampant than ever, and the Raad more completely the executive of his personal will.

Public indignation at length found vent, and at a mass meeting, held on August 12th, 1892, under the presidency of the Hon. John Tudhope,* an organisation was formed under the name of "The Transvaal National Union," of which that gentleman was elected President, with the design of seeking by constitutional agitation the redress of the more oppressive grievances, and in particular of obtaining that fair share in the parliamentary government of the country of which the Uitlanders had been, *since the 1884 Convention*, expressly deprived. The very first article in the constitution of this new organisation was "*the preservation of the independence of the Republic*," and the movement was entirely domestic. So far from the agitation being promoted by the great capitalists, these were, as a body, opposed to it, some of them actually holding one or other of the tyrannous monopolies or concessions which it was one great object of the Union to destroy. During the three years in which Mr. Tudhope remained President of the Union he expressly states that he never saw or had any communication, direct or indirect, with Mr. Cecil Rhodes. After that period, public feeling became so strong that the Union was practically superseded by the more revolutionary

Beginnings
of revolt.

* These and some other details of this chapter are taken from an instructive series of letters by the Hon. John Tudhope, in 1889 Colonial Secretary in the Cape Government, published in *The British Weekly* during April and May, 1900.

"Reform Committee," in which Messrs. Rhodes and Eckstein took an active part; but this change was due entirely to the conduct of the corrupt oligarchy which now formed the Transvaal Government.

For all agitation proved fruitless. In 1892, when an influential deputation waited upon him, Kruger replied to them, "Go back and tell your people that I shall never give them anything—I shall never change my policy; and now let the storm burst." A year later, in 1893, when the election came on for the Presidency, with General Joubert as an opposition candidate, and many of the latter's party showed some disposition to concede a measure of justice, he appeared for a few months to temporise; but after the election * this altogether ceased. In 1894 a memorial was sent to the Volksraad, which bore 35,000 signatures. It was returned with an absolute refusal to make any concession, and one of the Boer members made the ominous remark that "*if the Uitlanders wanted the franchise they would have to fight for it.*" This question of the franchise—long before that lamentable Raid which has been so often stated to have caused all the trouble—had already become a burning one, and the key

**The
Franchise
Question.**

of the matter at issue, as can be best proved by a despatch to Sir H. B. Loch, dated November 19th, 1894, from Lord Ripon, Colonial Secretary in the then Liberal Government. In this despatch Lord Ripon laid stress upon the calamities due to the tyrannous system by which the majority, who bore the public burdens, were excluded from all share in deciding public affairs; and he

* It is now generally believed that General Joubert was really elected, but that the ballot-boxes were falsified by the Boer agents in the most wholesale way to return Kruger. Joubert's character was fundamentally different. He had always openly and honestly fought against annexation, and had refused to take any office under the British Government, which Kruger had not been ashamed to do. On the other hand, the peculiar enmity of the President for everything British was foreign to his nature, and on many occasions he manifested a disposition to a more just and progressive policy.

then proceeded: "The period of residence, which constitutes the most important condition of naturalisation, differs in different countries; but there is a very general consensus of opinion amongst civilised states that five years is a sufficiently long period of probation; and Her Majesty's Government would wish you to press upon the Government of the Republic the view that the period in this case should not exceed that limit as regards the right to vote in the First Volksraad, which is the dominant body, and in Presidential elections." Lord Ripon, in 1894, and long before the Raid, thus anticipated the demands of Sir Alfred Milner and Mr. Chamberlain, as formulated in 1899.

All fell upon deaf ears at Pretoria, and about 1895 the popular agitation underwent a change, the great capitalists of Johannesburg beginning to take more or less part in the more revolutionary "Reform" movement which took the place of the Transvaal National Union. At the end of this year President Kruger nearly brought things to an issue by closing the "drifts," or fords, by which goods entered the Transvaal from the Cape and Free State, in order to force all import traffic over his own line from Delagoa Bay. He thus showed his utter contempt for all other interests (even of the Dutch) in South Africa, and committed another glaring breach of the London Convention of 1884. On this occasion he was met with an ultimatum from both the Imperial Government and the Government of the Cape; and, not being yet prepared for the final struggle he was contemplating, he yielded, and withdrew the measure. It has been stated officially on several occasions, that Cape Colony and the Transvaal were at that time on the brink of war, due solely to this unprovoked aggression of President Kruger.

With matters in this state, some sort of a crisis could not have been very long delayed, but the form it took was unforeseen by all but the chief conspirators. For a sheer conspiracy it undoubtedly was; and unfortunately one of the chief conspirators, Mr. Cecil



SMUGGLED ARMS AND AMMUNITION BEING CONVEYED TO THE REFORM COMMITTEE, JOHANNESBURG.

Rhodes, was Prime Minister of the Cape, and the other, Dr. Jameson, Administrator and Military Commander of Rhodesia. By them negotiations were entered into with the more revolutionary elements at Johannesburg; arms were sent into the town, and volunteers enrolled; and it was arranged towards the end of 1895 that the meditated rising should

The
Jameson
Raid.

be assisted by armed forces drawn from those of the Chartered South Africa Company. Under colour of protecting the railway line from the Cape to Buluwayo, which was now near Mafeking, the Rhodesian force, with guns and Maxims, was concentrated at the latter place; and depôts were formed for horses and provisions between it and Johannesburg, on the plea of preparing for a line of coach traffic. In order to enlist public sympathy with the movement, a letter was artfully prepared beforehand, supposed to be addressed by the local revolutionists at Johannesburg to Dr. Jameson, but with a blank date to be filled in,* appealing to Dr. Jameson direct for aid to the citizens in preserving life and property and protecting women and children from the Boers.

Evidence since published† has made it clear that the outside conspirators and the Johannesburg Revolutionary Committee were finally at cross-purposes. Johannesburg desired to maintain the independent Republic, with freedom and reforms; Rhodes and Jameson wanted the British flag. It had been intended by the Committee to call a great meeting at Johannesburg on January 6th, 1896, having previously seized all the war material in the arsenal at Pretoria (which was known to be unguarded), and there proclaim a sort of provisional government, which was to negotiate and secure their just demands from the President; Jameson and his troopers, believed to number 1,500, being only summoned to help in case of need. The

seizure of the arsenal was the very keystone of the plot, and probably its only chance of success. But the flag question became acute; it was found that Jameson would have far fewer men than had been supposed; and it was more and more felt, also, that he seemed disposed to carry out his own plans with a high hand, irrespective of the wishes of the Johannesburg Reform party. Finally, strict injunctions were sent to Dr. Jameson by two separate messengers, on no account to start for Johannesburg till commanded or requested to do so by the Committee, who cherished some hopes of gaining their object without firing a shot. In defiance of all this, Dr. Jameson telegraphed on December 28th, 1895, that he should positively start next day; and on that very day he did cross the border, with about 500 troops and three guns, besides several Maxims. He called for volunteers to go with him "to protect life and property," and such officers as were in his confidence certainly conveyed the impression to their men that the expedition had some sanction from the Queen's authorities.

Thus started the "Jameson Raid," whose immediate fruit was so calamitous for South Africa. It is hard to say whether its criminality or its folly was the greater, but the former must stand in the foreground. It was a crime against all international law. That such a piece of sheer filibustering should be organised by the Prime Minister of one neighbouring state and the military commander and administrator of another, both under British government, placed the latter under a stigma which, though undeserved, fatally paralysed its own legitimate action for long afterwards, and placed it in an utterly false position before other nations of the world; inflicted injury upon the fair fame of England, in fact, which has not been recovered from to this day. It stirred up the race-hatred of which, as we have seen, there was already far too much, to absolutely fever-heat. It placed all the cards for a time in the hands of President Kruger; and especially it gave him almost at once what he had vainly

* Steps were taken to procure publication in *The Times* of this letter, as a genuine document.

† "The Transvaal from Within," by J. P. Fitzpatrick.

striven for before, an absolute offensive and defensive alliance with the Orange Free State.

It could not possibly have any other than evil effect, for the folly of the whole proceeding was equal to its wickedness. The

success of the movement consisted in its being a movement from within, which would have attracted much public sympathy, and which might by surprise seize the Boer arsenal, arming the reformers and disarming



DR. JAMESON AND HIS MEN ESCORTED AS PRISONERS.

force was in any case absurdly inadequate to meet the armed Boers, who rapidly mustered to oppose it; but everything was, in addition, miserably mismanaged. Men and horses had neither rest nor food; there was no arrangement for co-operation with such force as Johannesburg might muster; and the inevitable result was yet another ignominious surrender. Above all, the one chance for the

their enemies by one sudden stroke. By his fatuous and self-willed disregard of all the plans and wishes of the Committee. Dr. Jameson absolutely prevented this, and gave the Transvaal authorities warning. He also anticipated the earliest intended date by many days. In this latter point he was shown to have acted upon his own plans, and without the knowledge of Mr. Rhodes, who

thus became technically—but only so far—“innocent” of the Raid. What could possibly have been Dr. Jameson’s own motives, or plans, or anticipations, has never been made clear to this day; but it has been thought by many that the prospect of reforms being, after all, obtained under the independent Republic, without bloodshed, did not please him or Mr. Rhodes, and that he took the stupendous risk at all costs, in order to dominate the situation and to raise the Imperial flag.

The British authorities never for a moment left any doubt of their attitude towards the piratical expedition. The High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, the moment he heard of it, issued a proclamation absolutely forbidding any participation in the movement, and sent fast messengers after the expedition, who personally commanded Dr. Jameson and his officers to withdraw; but these orders were not obeyed. At home, the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, at the very first moment telegraphed imperative instructions to the same effect. There is ample evidence that this uncompromising attitude prevented the Johannesburg revolutionists from co-operating, and thus greatly diminished the task of the Boers, and obviated much further bloodshed and calamity. The first Boer opposition was found at Krugersdorp, about seventeen miles west of Johannesburg, where some hasty fortifications were thrown up to bar the invaders. Jameson could not force it, though his numbers were nearly double, and turned to the south to Dornkop, hoping to get round the Boers into the town, from which, in fear of the Commissioner’s proclamation, there was no assistance nor even any sign. On January 2nd the Boer artillery came up, and the leader of the Raid had no alternative but to capitulate, on the sole condition that all lives should be spared. His loss amounted to twenty-five killed and wounded; the Boers are believed to have lost five. A few days afterwards, on January 7th, Sir Hercules Robinson induced Johannesburg to disarm, which the Reformers did, chiefly

with a view to saving the lives of Dr. Jameson and his men; an object which it was not then known had been already secured by the terms of surrender.

The Raid resulted immediately in the retirement of Mr. Cecil Rhodes from the Premiership of Cape Colony, to be succeeded, first by Sir J. Gordon Sprigg, and ultimately, after a general election which transferred political power to the Dutch party, by a Bond Ministry under Mr. Schreiner. Considerable alterations were also made in the administration of Rhodesia under the Chartered Company, though the charter was not taken away. In particular, the control of the military forces, as previously stated, was taken over by the Imperial Government. But the principal results of the deplorable event were yet to come.

Effects of
the Raid.

On the Continent, as already hinted, the effects of the Jameson Raid were serious and deplorable, but in one quarter more especially occasioned the gravest anxiety. All through the crisis Dr. Leyds, confidential representative of the Transvaal on the Continent, was reported as in close consultation with the German Foreign Office; and on January 3rd, 1896, after consultation with his Foreign Secretary and Imperial Chancellor, the German Emperor himself sent to President Kruger the following telegram, also published in the German *Imperial Gazette* :—

“I express to you my sincere congratulations that, without appealing to the help of *friendly Powers*, you and your people have succeeded in repelling with your own forces the armed bands which had broken into your country, and in maintaining the *independence of your country* against *foreign aggression*.”

The deep significance of the words we have italicised was at once seen, and must be understood in connection with the long conferences known to have been proceeding between Dr. Leyds and the German Government, and with the declaration by Baron von Marschall in the Reichstag, already alluded

to (p. 340). It was clearly implied that the Transvaal had a right to call upon foreign Powers; that it was thus an "independent" country; and that the paramount Power was "foreign" to it. And this was not all. It was further officially announced that orders had been given for German marines to land at Lorenzo Marquez and proceed to Pretoria (though it subsequently transpired that permission for this had been asked of Portugal and had been refused), and the organ of the German Foreign Office insisted in a series of articles that the Boers were to be regarded as an "entirely independent" nation, and that any attempt at interfering with such a status must be regarded as an interference with "German interests."

It was natural that a wave of the deepest resentment against Germany should sweep over England, and the British Government deemed it only prudent quietly to mobilise and commission a squadron of vessels for special service. These signs produced in Germany a mood of more modest reflection. What the Emperor had really meant has never been clearly known, and it is probable enough that he was partly bidding for popularity amongst his own people, and partly making experiment as to how far England would tolerate more of that pressure to which she had so often yielded on previous occasions. At all events, reflection brought prudence; every effort was made to minimise what had happened; and a little later, by agreements between England and Germany in connection with Samoa and other matters, all danger of trouble between the two nations was removed. The conduct of the German Emperor since has been frank and loyal; but for a time relations were dangerously strained, and the German press and people have, unfortunately, never since lost the animosity which was awakened at this time, more or less under official sanction. The comments of other Continental nations were equally hostile and unfavourable to this country, in entire oblivion of the straightforward and loyal conduct of the British

authorities, from the very first moment they knew anything of the intended proceedings. It would be impossible to exaggerate the harm done to the English name and policy abroad by the lamentable blunder and crime known as the Jameson Raid.

Nevertheless, fatuous and criminal as it was, and the direct cause of many evil results, it would be a mistake, and is a gross injustice, to attribute to it all the calamities and the terrible war which ultimately followed. Utterly wrong as it was, and would equally have been if successful, it was itself the product of long and intolerable injustice, as briefly sketched in the preceding pages. Wrong too often makes wrong, and so it was here. There is a considerable amount of evidence that President Kruger knew something of what was going on, and deliberately provoked an open outbreak, that he might be able to crush it and thereafter make it an excuse for more repression. At any time before it took place, a very small modicum of justice to the taxpayers, or a very moderate franchise, would have entirely averted all danger of any rising. On the contrary, to some sort of revolt the people were daily being goaded by tyranny and corruption, and were even taunted in the Volksraad itself for *not* actually fighting for their rights. If Johannesburg itself had risen, and succeeded, the people could not have been blamed: it was the invasion by outside forces, and the organisation of that invasion by men high in office under the British Empire, which had such a deplorable bearing upon subsequent events.

If anything had been wanting to bring into relief the criminal folly of the Jameson Raid, it was supplied by the native rising known as the Second Matabele War, which took place immediately afterwards. Some kind of disturbance there would probably have been in any case, owing to various causes. The natives had hardly been thoroughly subdued by the operations of 1894 (p. 255), and great discontent followed

the confiscation of their cattle, which was, to a large extent, seized by the Chartered Company, as having been royal property. But when at the end of 1895 rinderpest broke out in the territory, and all infected herds were slaughtered by the police, for reasons these poor people could not understand, their exasperation increased; and this was fanned by the predictions of their fetishmen, who averred that Lobengula was not dead, but coming back with a great army, and that the whites would be overwhelmed. Any rising would, however, have been easily quelled under ordinary circumstances. But the natives had seen the white mounted police again defeated by an inferior number of Boers; while the force expressly raised and organised to keep them under control had been withdrawn, with the commander and administrator, for the entirely foreign objects of the Raid. Matabeleland was thus left unguarded, except for black police, when the natives revolted; and nearly all the native police, carrying with them their rifles and ammunition, threw in their lot with the rising, leaving the white settlers to curse the crooked and wicked policy which had left them defenceless in their hour of need.

The rising broke out in March, 1896, in the Insiza and Filibusu districts; Mr. Bentley, the Native Commissioner, and a number of other white men and women, being massacred without warning, under circumstances of terrible barbarity, and generally by their native servants and dependents. The whites gathered chiefly in Buluwayo and Gwelo, and forces were hurried up from the Cape and from Natal as soon as possible, all now under Imperial authority; but for some time the defence rested entirely with the fighting men amongst the settlers themselves, barely 800 in number. Opposed to these were some 14,000 Matabele, many well armed with first-class rifles, and supplied with an enormous quantity of ammunition, which was never accounted for, and is now believed, on somewhat inconclusive but too serious evidence,

to have been supplied by the Transvaal Boers.* Many brave deeds were done in rescuing isolated parties and families of white settlers, and bringing them into the chief laagers or other places of security; and as the insurgents had little military discipline by May they had been so repeatedly defeated in scattered engagements by the small Imperial force under Sir F. Carrington that the rising was practically checked, though not overcome. At this period, however, it was revived by another rising in Mashonaland, and in July a son of Lobengula was proclaimed King of the Matabele. The actual military operations against the main body of the natives were conducted by Colonel Plumer, who repeatedly defeated considerable bodies with heavy loss, and in August overcame and broke up three combined large impi in the Matappo hills, to which the Matabele had resorted as a final stronghold. All other organised bands were by this time broken up, and the natives had retired to the caverns in the hills.

At this juncture the mother of one of the chiefs was captured, and reported that all the insurgents were utterly disheartened, and desirous of surrender. She was employed as a messenger; and in response to the communications she brought back Mr. Cecil Rhodes, with only three companions, went, totally unarmed, into the hills, for conference with the assembled chiefs. His courage and initiative on this occasion rendered good service to the cause of peace. At this and other conferences the rebels agreed to surrender their arms and such of their number as had really murdered whites in cold blood, amnesty being proclaimed to all others. On October 13th a great indaba was held, at which eight chiefs were appointed as heads of districts, and in the January following (1897) other chiefs were appointed, with a native commissioner and assistant for each district, and a chief native commissioner over all, to be stationed at

* Joubert's attempts, at an earlier period, to stir up Lobengula are proved by his own written letter.



MR. RHODES AND THE MATABELE CHIEFS.

Buluwayo. Sir Richard Martin, commandant-general of the forces in Rhodesia and Deputy High Commissioner, in reporting upon the causes of the outbreak, attributed it to the seizures of cattle by the Chartered Company, attempts to procure forced labour, general distrust of the Company's rule, and the slaughter of cattle for rinderpest; adding that the withdrawal of the white police by Dr. Jameson, though not the cause, gave the "opportunity" for the rising. Steps were taken to modify some of the grievances described, and others were practically met by changes in the government of the country, consequent on the Raid, as briefly stated in Chapter XVIII.

President Kruger's conduct immediately after the Raid showed some signs of wisdom and moderation. He surrendered Jameson and his troop, after some haggling, to the British Government, by whose direction the leaders were subsequently tried in England, and sentenced: Dr. Jameson to fifteen months' imprisonment, Sir John Willoughby to ten months', Major Robert White to seven months', and Colonel Grey, Colonel White, and Major Coventry to five months' each; the officers also lost their commissions. He also made, while things were still disturbed, vague promises of reforms and redress of grievances. But any anticipations, based upon such moderation, were soon dispelled. In place of the general amnesty, which had been understood and practically promised before that disarmament of Johannesburg which these very men had arranged and carried out, the Reform Committee, sixty in number, were arrested and thrown into Pretoria gaol. Here they were abandoned to their fate by Sir Hercules Robinson, in a manner that, as shown by his telegrams, occasioned much astonishment to the British Colonial Secretary. Brutally treated by a howling mob on the way to gaol, they were treated inside like black felons: four or five men, in that climate, being confined in cells

9 feet long by 5½ feet wide, with no sanitation, under a gaoler notorious for his cruel brutality. Not till after eleven days were the majority admitted to heavy bail, the leaders being still confined. At the trial they were induced to plead guilty by the State Attorney, on the understanding that the majority would only be found guilty of a nominal offence, and that against the leaders he would not press for exemplary punishment.* They did so; and then the State Attorney made a most violent speech, demanding the severest possible punishment under the old Roman-Dutch law. The four leaders were accordingly sentenced to *death*; the others to two years' imprisonment, a fine of £2,000 each, or a further year's imprisonment, and subsequent banishment for three years.

It was little wonder that, with the re-committal of all the prisoners to gaol under the notorious Du Plessis (a relative of President Kruger), a strong reaction commenced in favour of the Reformers. In English gaols 900 cubic feet per prisoner is the legal air-space; these wretched victims, reared in comfort, and in that hot climate, had about 145 cubic feet; and the sanitary arrangements were simply too horrible for description. By the third day many were ill, and some had to be taken to hospital for fear of worse scandal. One of the prisoners was driven into suicidal mania, of which the authorities were duly warned; but nothing was done, and on the fourth day after the wretched man took his own life, in spite of the watchful care of his comrades. All South Africa rang with the horrible story; and it is significant that, on the inquiry now hurriedly ordered, it was found necessary to immediately remove several others for fear of similar results. Great petitions were got up, and at last the Pretoria oligarchy began to see that their conduct was alienating even the Dutch element at Cape Town. Two hundred mayors of towns were actually on their way to Pretoria to present a memorial for release,

* For details, cf. J. P. Fitzpatrick's account, already referred to.

when the President saw that he had carried his jockeying too far, and hastened to liberate all but the four leaders, on payment of their £2,000 fines alone, before the arrival of the deputation!

The four leaders were treated differently. They were worked upon to "petition," and negotiations were opened in the well-known Boer fashion as to large money payments. Here the religion of the Boers came in, however. The men had been condemned to death; to impose a fine instead would be to take "blood-money," which they professed to regard as wicked, but to accept the *offer of a present* would be different. It was suggested that the money should be applied to some charitable purpose, such as a hospital, and not to the State; and the prisoners were given to understand that if they would offer £40,000 each, the President's "magnanimity" would reduce it to £25,000. They had by this time gauged the President's magnanimity to a hair, however, and declined absolutely to propose a penny more than the agreed sum, which was finally accepted. From four prisoners the sum of £100,000 was thus collected (nothing more was ever heard of a "hospital"), and from fifty-six others a further £112,000. Finally, the President presented to the British Government a claim for indemnity for the Raid, to the amount of £677,938 3s. 3d. for "material damage," and £1,000,000 for "moral and intellectual damage"—a claim which was naturally held over for consideration!

A Parliamentary Inquiry into the origin and circumstances of the Jameson Raid was made during the Session of 1897.

Parliament
and the
Raid.

Mr. Rhodes gave evidence that he had placed the troops upon the borders of the Transvaal, "prepared to act in certain eventualities," but that Dr. Jameson actually went in without his authority; adding that he was greatly influenced by his belief that the present policy of the Transvaal "was to introduce the influence of another foreign Power." The Committee reported upon the grievances, and

that "there were repeated endeavours to obtain redress of these grievances by constitutional means, but without result." They found that Dr. Jameson did, in fact, actually go in without Mr. Rhodes' authority, and that Mr. Rhodes had concealed his designs from the Chartered Company; but that as the Board of the latter had left him uncontrolled, its constitution did not "offer sufficient security" against such schemes, and must be altered: that the Colonial Office and authorities had no knowledge, or information which ought to have given suspicion, of the Raid. The whole proceeding was condemned in the most emphatic terms, and it was stated that, notwithstanding Dr. Jameson's final action being independent of him, "Mr. Rhodes' heavy responsibility remains." It was added that "the result caused for the time being grave injury to British influence in South Africa, public confidence was shaken, and feeling embittered, and serious difficulties were created with neighbouring states."

One special feature of the Inquiry, and of many subsequent debates in Parliament, requires separate mention. It is deeply to be regretted that from the very first the fierce political hatred (scarcely ever carried to such lengths in English history) of a considerable section, in Parliament and out of it, endeavoured to fasten upon the British Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, a charge of really knowing and secretly promoting the disastrous scheme. That Mr. Rhodes himself had conveyed such an impression to his subordinates is not to be doubted, and it was also admitted that certain telegrams from persons in London, in the confidence of the conspirators, had conveyed the idea. These telegrams Mr. Rhodes' solicitor, Mr. Hawksley, now declined to produce; and upon these withheld telegrams especially the charge—infamous to the last degree against a British Minister—was attempted to be supported. It was, however, proved in evidence that Mr. Rhodes had allowed the telegrams to be seen privately by Mr. Chamberlain (presumably

with some idea of intimidating him); that the latter had declared his entire willingness for their production as not really concerning him in any way; and that it was Mr. Rhodes who now refused. It was by Sir William Harcourt himself that there was added to the Report the following comment, which ought to have been decisive: "It is clear from the evidence of Mr. Hawksley and his letter of February 5th, 1896, that the telegrams in question conveyed the impression that the action of Mr. Rhodes was known and approved at the Colonial Office. The fact that Mr. Rhodes (after having authorised that they should be shown to Mr. Chamberlain) has refused to allow them to be produced before the Committee, leads to the impression that he is aware that any statements purporting to incriminate the Colonial Office contained in them *were unfounded, and the use made of them in support of his action in South Africa, was not justified.*"* Yet the

* The Committee might have compelled production, but did not consider the telegrams, under the circumstances, worth the delay of the adjournment which would have been occasioned. Several years later, when the Boer War was in progress, by some means the whole were procured and published by a Continental journal. They

attacks were continued, and the charge repeated, in face of Mr. Chamberlain's own absolute denial—the denial of a trusted Minister of the Crown; and the malignant hatred of a faction thus prepared and provided the material, not only for the arguments and suspicions and dogged resistance of the Boers during the negotiations which followed, but for a stream of calumny and abuse from almost the entire Continental press, directed against their country and its Government, which has never been paralleled in history, and constituted the most formidable peril of all when the crisis actually occurred.

proved absolutely worthless; and it is the more to be regretted that in one respect Mr. Chamberlain did lay himself open to the attacks upon him. On July 26th, 1897, in a debate upon the Committee's Report, he affirmed of Mr. Rhodes that "there existed nothing against his personal character as a man of honour." He subsequently explained that he had intended this merely in reply to the accusation that Mr. Rhodes had acted mainly from stock-jobbing motives; and there is no reason to doubt that it was so. Nevertheless, that such a statement should have been made by the Colonial Secretary of a Minister who had so betrayed his position and his country, and further so artfully attempted (as shown above) to compromise the speaker's own good faith and good name, is deeply to be lamented, and gave the only real handle to the ferocious political attacks here referred to.



(Photo: Arthur Elliott, Pretoria.)

OUTSIDE PRETORIA GAOL AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF DR. JAMESON.



TRYING TO HELIOGRAPH INTO LADYSMITH FROM ESTCOURT.

CHAPTER XX.

THE GREAT BOER REVOLT.

The Effects of the Jameson Raid—President Kruger and Germany—The Franchise Question—The Alliance with the Orange Free State—Sir Alfred Milner succeeds Lord Rosmead—The Tampering with the Independence of the Transvaal Courts of Law—The Edgar Case—The Uitlanders' Petition—The Bloemfontein Conference—The Negotiations concerning Franchise and Reform—The Question of Suzerainty—The Dutch Ultimatum—Outbreak of the War—British Under-estimate of Boer Strength—Sieges of Ladysmith, Mafeking, and Kimberley—British Reverses—Arrival of Lords Roberts and Kitchener—Occupation of Bloemfontein and Pretoria—The Imperial Forces—The Lands Settlement Commission—The Future of South Africa.

THE Jameson Raid left the grievances of the white settlers in the Transvaal still unredressed, and the questions involved in them still unsettled; and unfortunately their settlement was now prejudiced in many ways. A false colour had been thrown over legitimate claims; the Boers themselves now had a real grievance and cause of complaint; race feeling had been still further exaggerated; while, on the other hand, the attitude of Germany had thoroughly awakened public opinion in England, and shown that the assertion of her rights and paramount interest in South Africa was of serious necessity, and even of international importance to her. A year before the Raid, on the German

Emperor's birthday (January 25th, 1895), President Kruger had said in a speech at Pretoria: "This child is now being trodden upon by one great Power, and the natural consequence is that it seeks protection from another. The time has come to knit ties of the closest friendship between Germany and the South African Republic—ties such as are natural between father and child." Then followed the Emperor's telegram, and the attempt to land German troops on Transvaal soil. Facts like these had necessitated decided statements by British ministers as to England's firm determination to solve all questions between her and the Transvaal "without foreign interference"; and these

statements in turn were hotly resented in Germany. In a debate in the Reichstag on February 13th, 1896, Baron von Marschall said, in reference to the recent events: "Apart from the subjective side of the matter, questions of international law come into consideration, in which our interests also are concerned, and which, therefore, *laid upon us the right and the duty of taking action.*" Happily, Germany's international action (though, unhappily, not her public feeling) was afterwards modified; but at the time these and similar statements increased the gravity of the issue, and were felt to render more than ever imperative the necessity for making the rights of British settlers respected, and the paramountcy of British influence in South Africa indisputable.

In two despatches to Sir Hercules Robinson (soon afterwards created Lord Rosmead), Mr. Chamberlain accordingly again urged upon the President of the Transvaal the five years' franchise, as previously pressed for by Lord Ripon; in the second, suggesting as a possible alternative which might meet many of the more pressing grievances, a kind of lower or municipal government for the mining districts, which should manage the schools and local affairs.* He also proposed that President Kruger should come to London and confer in person upon the terms of a settlement. At one time there appeared some hope of this visit taking place; but the President persistently pressed for a modification of the clause in the Convention controlling his foreign relations, and immediately it was made finally clear to him that this could not be acceded to he publicly announced that all idea of it had been abandoned. He further stated, in reply to Mr. Chamberlain's despatches, that his Government even objected to discuss with England the Johannesburg grievances, since

England had "no power to interfere" with the internal administration of the country. This attitude was accompanied by reactionary steps. In March, 1896, President Steyn of the Orange Free State—to whom, rightly or wrongly, is attributed the ambition of being the first President of the destined African Republic—went to Pretoria, and concluded with the Transvaal that offensive and defensive alliance for which Kruger had so long striven in vain: perhaps this was, of all, the most fatal sequel of the Raid. Some temporary hope of better things was awakened in August of that year by an Education Bill, which professed to give some slight aid to education in the English language; but in the following month the Raad passed a Bill authorising the expulsion, without trial, of any alien "deemed to be dangerous" to public peace, and in November an equally reactionary Immigration Bill was passed. This last, however, as the British Government was compelled to insist, was a clear breach of the London Convention, and, owing to its representations, the law was repealed in May the following year.

At this period Mr. W. Conyngham Greene was appointed British Agent at Pretoria, and in 1897 Sir Alfred Milner was appointed to succeed Lord Rosmead as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner of South Africa. Sir Alfred had previously filled the posts of Under-Secretary of Finance in Egypt, and Chairman of the Board of Inland Revenue, and had won the praise of all parties by the ability and tact which he had shown throughout his career. His appointment was received with the warmest approval by all parties in both Parliament and press, as that of an able, moderate, and most conciliatory man, who would bring to all the questions before him an entirely independent and impartial mind. There is, indeed, some reason to suppose that the new High Commissioner came to Africa with decided sympathies on the Boer side. But he had prepared himself for the position in a way no previous official had done by *learning the Taal*, or

* This despatch was published in England before its receipt in Africa; an unquestionable and regrettable diplomatic error that gave the President opportunity for a very pronounced snub in reply, which, on this occasion, Mr. Chamberlain certainly deserved.

language of the Cape Dutch: and he commenced his career by examining files of the Dutch newspapers. In these he found the disloyal projects of the Bond clearly revealed, in countless articles such as those briefly quoted in the preceding chapter; and he warned the Government seriously that the disloyalty was not confined to the Transvaal, but had to a great extent affected the Dutch all through the colonies. The knowledge thus acquired at first hand was invaluable, and no doubt greatly affected the course of the negotiations and subsequent events.

In February, 1897, the independence of the Transvaal courts of law was destroyed, and the last guarantee for justice taken away, by a decree which gave to a mere resolution of the corrupt Volksraad of twenty-four members the force of law, equal to that of the Grondwet or constitution of the country, and enabled the President to remove from office any judges who would not act in accordance therewith. All the judges, without exception, protested, and in 1898 Chief Justice Kotze was removed from office; but opposition was in vain, and justice or security ceased to exist in the Transvaal. The same year (1898) was also marked by the appointment of the ill-omened Dr. Leyds as State Secretary.

All this time the Republic was arming with feverish haste. It had previously been restrained by the dread of appearances to a moderate amount spent openly, aided by what could be diverted from other sources of nominal expenditure; but now every restraint was removed, armaments were ordered wholesale, artillery trained, and further fortifications proceeded with apace. Many consider that England should have protested at an early stage, but one Cabinet Minister after another has since publicly stated that the one fatal reason which debarred the Government from doing so was—the Raid. The Boers had been attacked by an outside force, and therefore had a show of reason which, though ludicrously insufficient for the vast armament

now being collected, yet *was* a show of reason and difficult to gainsay. At the same time a stiffer attitude began to be exhibited towards the British Government. In a despatch published in May, 1898, any British claim to suzerainty was expressly denied, and while it was still stated that the Transvaal adhered to all the stipulations of the Convention of 1884 (almost all of which, as already shown, had been broken from the first), it was asked that any questions as to infringement should be “submitted to arbitration.” This was the ominous element introduced into the discussion by President Kruger in 1898, which unquestionably increased the gravity of the entire situation from the point of view of the British Government;* and in a speech at Heidelberg the same year the President went still further and revealed his true aims: “In the capacity I hold,” he there said, “I have secrets which I cannot impart to my burghers, because if I do they are no longer secrets: but this I may tell you—that *if we succeed in our endeavour we may become a great and mighty African nation.*”

Matters now came rapidly to a crisis. In December, 1898, a certain Field-Cornet Lombard was arrested on the demand of the British Government, for gross maltreatment of coloured British subjects, but declared “innocent” and reinstated. Not long afterwards an English artisan named Edgar, who had been engaged in a street brawl, was shot dead by the Boer police in his own house, which they had broken into without a warrant. When brought before a jury they were acquitted of any crime, a verdict warmly endorsed by the judge. The effect of this verdict was, as stated in a despatch by Mr. Chamberlain,

* It is strange that it should have captivated so many excellent people. It would have introduced the *foreign element* into questions which England had, above all, determined were within her own sphere alone, and should not be subject to foreign interference: in which she had received warning already that foreign Governments were jealously on the watch for any chance to interfere; and in which she knew full well that justice would not be rendered by such arbitration to any interests of hers.

"that four policeman, breaking into a man's house at night without a warrant, on the mere statement of a person, which afterwards turned out to be untrue, that the man had committed a crime, were justified in killing him there and then because, according to their own account, he hit one of them with a stick." This police murder roused the Rand to petition and agitation; but a great indoor meeting was dispersed by Boer violence, while open-air meetings were prohibited by law, and two organisers of a petition were actually arrested on a charge under the Public Meetings Act. Another great petition, signed by 21,000 Uitlanders, was at length received by the High Commissioner (March 24th, 1899), praying for inquiry into their grievances, the reform of abuses, and the recognition of their rights. In May a number of men were arrested at Johannesburg on a charge of high treason; but the charges broke down, and it was proved that the whole was a Boer conspiracy, got up by *agents provocateurs*. On May 9th Mr. Reitz sent a despatch in which he explicitly claimed that "the now existing right of absolute self-government of the Republic is not derived from either the Convention of 1881 or that of 1884, but *simply and solely follows from the inherent right of the Republic as a sovereign international State.*" This claim the British Government of course rejected as "wholly inadmissible." Mr. Chamberlain also sent a reply respecting the petition of the Uitlanders, stating that the Government could no longer ignore such complaints, and suggesting a Conference between the High Commissioner and President Kruger, with a view to see if some acceptable scheme of redress could not be thus arranged.

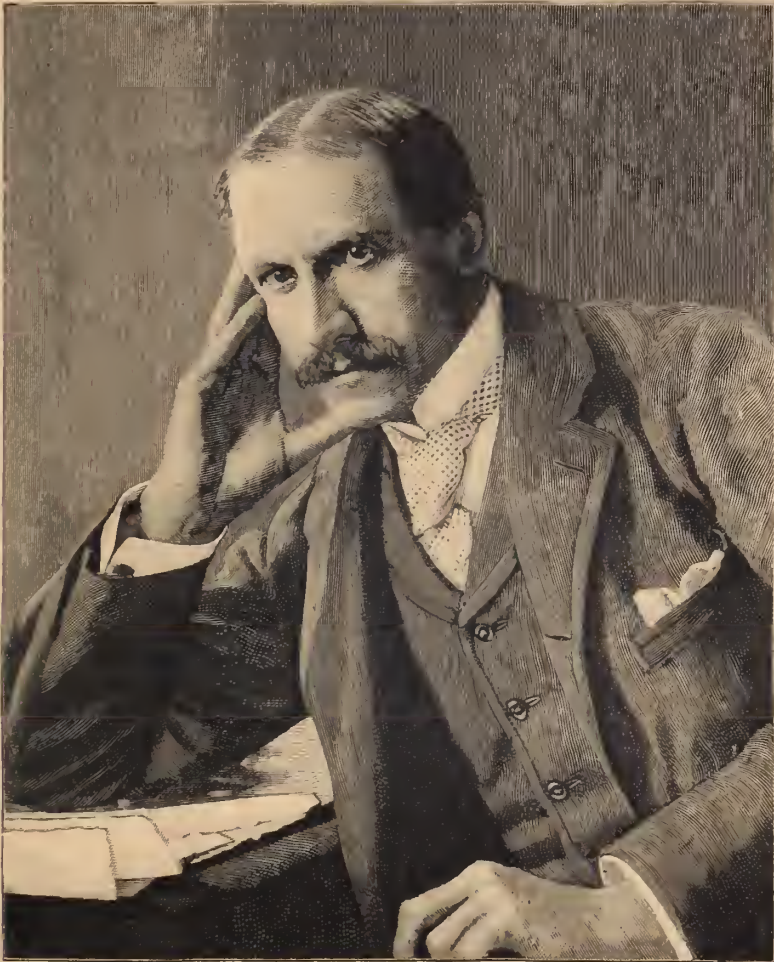
The Conference was held at Bloemfontein between May 31st and June 5th, 1899. Sir Alfred Milner mainly urged the granting of a simple and genuine franchise after five years' residence, and including such as had already been five years in the country, termed a "retrospective" franchise, which

had actually been the law of the State from 1882 to 1890, when it was repealed (in defiance of the promises given before the 1884 Convention). He did this, as he pointed out in despatches, partly as a test of President Kruger's good faith, and partly because he believed that fair representation would enable the settlers to get redress for themselves of crying grievances by political and constitutional means, and thus make unnecessary many irritating demands and discussions in detail. The President would only consent to a seven years' franchise, not retrospective, and further complicated by a number of irritating conditions which required two and a half years before even a fourteen years' resident could obtain it, and which left its attainment in any case at the mercy of the Boer field-cornets. Through the subsequent discussions this was the main issue. It was never a question of merely two years, between five and seven; but of five years' real qualification, simple and unchallengeable, against seven years hedged about with conditions which placed even that at the caprice of Boer officers, and gave no immediate representation at all. Still the proposal marked some advance, and when the President, without awaiting England's agreement, got it sanctioned, it was acknowledged in Parliament as such, and as holding out hopes of more to come. In a despatch, dated August 2nd, 1899, Mr. Chamberlain accordingly asked for a joint commission, which should ascertain and report how far the new proposals did give substantial and immediate representation to those concerned. But this was not accepted, and on August 9th Parliament was prorogued, with the ominous announcement in the Queen's Speech that "the position of my subjects in the South African Republic is inconsistent with the promises of equal treatment on which my grant of internal independence to that Republic was founded."

From this point matters were hurried to the final rupture by the fixed determination of President Kruger, either to make any real

concession the price of a surrender by England of all semblance of a suzerainty, or to resist any measure of real justice for settlers in the Transvaal. On August 19th the Boer Government suggested a five years'

condition meeting much of the previous British objection. Such arbitration was accordingly conditionally accepted, but the British Government adhered to their position regarding suzerainty, and while they trusted



SIR ALFRED (AFTERWARDS LORD) MILNER.

(Photo: Elliott & Fry, Baker Street, W.)

retrospective franchise, which was so far good, but coupled with an agreement that "in the future no interference in the internal affairs of the Republic" should take place; that the British Government would "not further insist on the assertion of the suzerainty"; and that arbitration should be conceded, excluding any foreign element beyond the Orange Free State—the latter

that the arrangement might obviate further interference, were unable to "debar themselves of their rights under the Conventions, or divest themselves of the ordinary obligations of a civilised Power to protect its subjects." On September 2nd the Transvaal Government withdrew its offer, and now proposed to accept the mixed commission to inquire into the operation of its own new

franchise law. The day after this despatch the editor of the Johannesburg *Leader* was arrested on a charge of treason, and an attempt was made to arrest another editor, also correspondent of *The Times* in London; but the latter got away. These arrests caused a great exodus from that city, in fear of what might follow. On September 6th explanations were demanded of the alleged "massing of troops" by the British on the Transvaal border. On September 8th the Colonial Secretary sent a despatch declining the joint inquiry into the Franchise Law, as the Government had now become convinced that it was totally unsatisfactory, reaffirming the impossibility of recognising the Transvaal as a sovereign independent State, but repeating an acceptance of the five years' franchise, free from nugatory conditions. This despatch was admitted on all hands to be moderate and conciliatory, was approved by even the loyal section of the Afrikaner party at the Cape, and it was hoped would terminate the dispute. On September 16th, however, the proposal was declined, the only offer being a repetition of that for joint inquiry into the present Franchise Law, while a charge of bad faith and deceit was made against England, both by President Steyn in the Raad of the Orange Free State, and in a Green Book issued by the Transvaal. This charge was energetically repelled in a despatch of September 22nd from the Colonial Secretary; and on the same date he also sent one regretting the failure to come to an understanding, and stating that the British Government were now compelled to consider the situation afresh, and would formulate their own proposals, which would be forwarded at a future date.

This proved the final stage of the negotiations. On September 27th the Raad of the Orange Free State resolved that the State should assist the Transvaal Government "in the event of war"—the first express mention of such a contingency. The burgher forces were mobilised and sent to the front; and

on October 3rd, before any declaration of hostilities, the Boers seized £800,000 worth of gold in transit from the mines to the banks. Things looked so threatening that on October 7th the British Parliament was summoned, and 25,000 of the Army Reserve were ordered to be called out. On October 9th the Boers delivered to the British Agent an ultimatum. It demanded that England should accept arbitration; that all troops on the borders should be withdrawn; that all reinforcements (the total of British troops in South Africa then barely amounted to 11,000) which had arrived since June 1st should be removed from the country; that troops still on the high seas should not be landed in any South African port; and it added that default of a reply accepting these conditions within two days would be regarded as a declaration of war! It became known afterwards that this ultimatum had been prepared for delivery a fortnight earlier, but that difficulties in local transport had hindered the massing on the frontier of the Boer forces, and that it was held back in consequence.

England was taken by surprise. Looking back, it can be seen that President Kruger never intended to grant any real equality for all white residents, and that war was from the first really inevitable at whatever he deemed the fit moment.* He had by sedulous work made his so-called Republic the strongest and best-armed State in South Africa for this very hour, and now the hour had come. But the connection and bearing of the events here sketched were not at the time fully known, and although anxiety and suspicion deepened towards the end, up to the last the British Government had hoped for and expected a

* Immediately upon the outbreak of war (October 10th and 11th) both Presidents issued manifestoes, calling their burghers to arms, and making strong charges of "greed" and "aggression" against Great Britain. On the occupation of Bloemfontein, a draft of President Steyn's proclamation was discovered, and this was found to be dated the previous July. Such an early date throws a strong and sinister light upon the whole course of the negotiations.

peaceful settlement. Not to prejudice such a result, preparations had been delayed for fear of arousing Boer susceptibilities, and, when war suddenly came from the Boer side, it found England dangerously overmatched in South Africa. This was indeed, and naturally, the deciding point with the Boers, who had all their forces on the spot, while Great Britain had to carry on the struggle from a base 7,000 miles away. It was, in fact, well for England that the Boers were not ready a fortnight earlier, as they had intended; for that one fortnight had done something. With the despatch of September 8th certain steps had been taken to guard against utter surprise, and soon afterwards reinforcements for the small garrison in Natal, the upper corner of which was foreseen to be the probable object of the first attack, were ordered from India and from home to the extent of about 10,000 troops;

one or two regiments of these had arrived, and the remainder were on the sea. Colonel Plumer was also sent to Rhodesia, and Colonel Baden-Powell to Bechuanaland, to organise colonial forces, with a special view of preventing any native rising. Also Sir George White, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, was sent to command the troops in Natal, where he arrived on October 7th, just before the outbreak of hostilities: and before the end of that month the British forces in South Africa had been raised to nearly 24,000, besides a few colonial irregulars. Things might have been worse if the Boers had been ready when they expected; but, as it was, the first few months of the war were almost of necessity one of bad augury for the

British arms. That it proved one of absolute disaster was due chiefly to two causes, one in the colony itself and one at home.

At the Cape a Bond Ministry was in power, which had a majority in the Assembly. Sir Alfred Milner had discovered from his perusal of Bond papers and documents, and warned his Government, that disloyalty and treason had honeycombed Cape Colony itself; a charge

which was hotly denied, but now proved to be lamentably true. Mr. Schreiner, the Premier, was not an extreme Bond partisan, though a supporter of the party, and on reviewing the whole history of his conduct, there is little doubt that he honestly did his best in an extremely difficult position for both his Queen and his country, so far as he could see. But he was surrounded by men far more extreme than himself, and—as facts soon proved—by widespread sedition.

Had he acted as the



THE HON. W. P. SCHREINER.

(Photo: Elliott & Fry, Baker Street, W.)

Prime Minister of any British colony would naturally be expected to act when the sovereign power was attacked, it is not improbable that wide and open revolt might have occurred in the colony itself, as had been counted upon in the Boer programme. As it was, he proclaimed "neutrality," and temporised: and though this exposed him to bitter attacks from the loyal party, there seems little question that his temporising did prevent open outbreak, and was really for the best. But the conduct of his colleagues, nevertheless, went far to strengthen the Boer and weaken the British arms. They allowed large quantities of munitions of war to pass over the Cape railways into the Orange Free State, on the pretence that they could not stop such

traffic with a "friendly" State; and at the same time they refused both reinforcements and armaments for Kimberley, though urgently applied for, and though that town was certain to be one of the first attacked. They also allowed the Free State to collect on their side of the border a large quantity of railway rolling stock to which they had no right.

composed of regular infantry! All the newspapers were daily insisting, as a matter of course, that "the lessons of Majuba had been learnt"; that there would be no more assaults by infantry upon impregnable positions; that mounted infantry, and cavalry, and irregulars would now be used to fight the Boers in their own way. The War Office alone had, how-



PRESIDENT STEYN.

(Photo: R. Thiele & Co., Chancery Lane, W.C.)

Apart from the whole spirit in which the "neutrality" was carried out, these two acts in particular added to the handicap against the British forces.

And at home the War Office fatally underestimated the Boer capacity, and failed to foresee what was needed to cope with it. When the war broke out it was thought that one army corps—say, 40,000 combatants—would be sufficient, in addition to the reinforcements which were on the way; and, in spite of all warning, these were to be mainly

ever, *not* learnt that lesson. Offers of irregular colonial corps were superciliously declined; when Australia offered mounted men, she was telegraphed "Infantry preferred"; cavalry was the last arm of the service to be provided, and then in small numbers. A terrible lack of cavalry hung like an *incubus* over all the early stages of the war; and it was mainly by the work of his cavalry that the tide of disaster was finally turned by Lord Roberts at a later stage. On the other hand, in many respects the War Office system



A. WOLMARANS.
GENERAL JOUBERT.

F. W. REITZ.
PRESIDENT KRUGER.

J. H. M. KOCK.
GENERAL CRONJE.
THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC.

greatly surpassed previous expectations. This was the first occasion on which the new army system of short service, and the modern organisation, had been put to any severe test; and the manner in which the Reserves responded to the call, and in which (as the extent of the task was realised) a total of nearly 240,000 men was raised and equipped, transported over 7,000 miles of sea and railway, fed, and supplied, gave both England and Europe a sense of British strength which was manifested in a great many ways.

It was well that this should be so, for the Boer War brought forth an expression of undisguised and bitter hate against England which had never been paralleled, and was, perhaps, the greatest peril of the hour. It is known now that the Continental press had been corrupted wholesale by lavish expenditure through Dr. Leyds, and this accounted for much, but not for all. In France and Germany feeling had been deliberately excited for political reasons, and when policy would have changed this feeling it could not be done. The conduct of every Government was correct and friendly, but all over the Continent English residents were exposed to actual insult by the people. The charges brought against the honour and honesty of Great Britain were, unfortunately, borrowed from those forged by political hatred at home, as already indicated. It is not necessary here to discuss this phase of the matter in detail; but it should not be forgotten in what perilous times and circumstances, and against what factious opposition, the British Government had to carry out the task to which it had put its hand. On the other side stands the remarkable degree in which this was realised by England's colonies all over the world, and in which they rallied to her defence. *They* knew that she, not the oligarchical and truculent President Kruger, was fighting for liberty; and as the gloom of the early months deepened they sent to her aid across the sea one regiment after another in a way that created a profound impression throughout the world. It is not

for us to give the military or other details here; but both the hatred of England's foes and the splendid Imperial loyalty and self-sacrifice of her colonies were brought into strange relief by the second Boer War.

We can make but brief reference to the chief events of that war; these have already been fully recorded by many pens. The offensive, of course, lay with the Boers, who were prepared, and on the frontier in full force. Their system was simple in the extreme; a levy *en masse* of every man, who received the summons through his local field-cornet, and was bound to present himself on a certain date at an appointed place, with a horse and seven days' provisions. There (if he had it not already) he received his Mauser rifle and ammunition, and the "commando" was completed. Whatever else was necessary—wagons, oxen, stores, money—was simply "commandeered," or taken by force, anywhere, but by preference from any suspected of British sympathies. The town of Johannesburg was gutted in this way. The Uitlander population was expelled wholesale, and compelled to travel to British territory crowded in open cattle-trucks, which were days on the journey (being pushed aside for military trains), but which they were not allowed to leave. The money they had secured about their persons was in many cases stolen from them, and at some of the stations where they stopped they were subjected to all kinds of indignities. Several premature confinements took place in the trucks; and large numbers of men and women who had started with sufficient funds to keep them for a small space, or to carry them to England, arrived in Natal or the Cape as stripped, ragged, pillaged paupers, who had to be fed in thousands by charity.

The Boers lost no time in opening the campaign. As soon as the forty-eight hours' notice mentioned in the ultimatum was expired, Laing's Nek was occupied, and a few days later Newcastle, in the apex of the northern tongue of Natal which runs up between the two Dutch States, and which was

seen from the first to be probably the principal theatre of early Boer operations. Neither could be defended with the troops at command, the most northerly division of which was at Glencoe under General Penn-Symons. General White had determined to withdraw from even that position to a more southerly one at Ladysmith, but was over-persuaded by the Governor of Natal, Sir W. F. Hely-Hutchinson, who represented strongly the political results of a retreat. Even Ladysmith was not a good position, being in a saucer surrounded by heights which commanded it on all sides; and military reasons alone would have dictated withdrawal behind the Tugela at Colenso, leaving the whole triangle beyond, for the immediate present, to the enemy. That General White did not adopt this course led to what it has been the fashion to call the "entanglement of Ladysmith." There appears no doubt that he under-rated the Boer

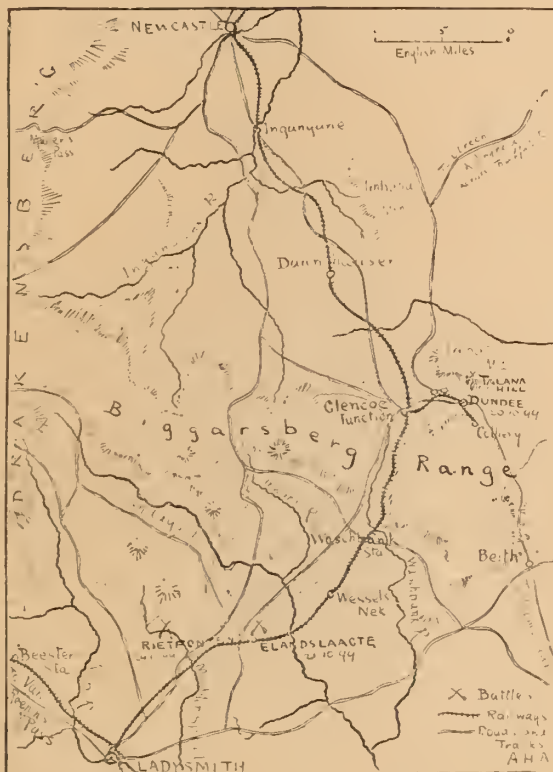
strength; and it is possible that if this had been more accurately known he might have decided differently; but nevertheless, looking back, his actual decision appears fully justified. Three years earlier Ladysmith had been made—perhaps foolishly—a great military depôt, and now contained military stores of over a million in value. The moral and material effect of abandoning these would have been great; but, above all, there was certain intelligence that the fall of Ladysmith

was the agreed signal for a general rising of the disloyal Dutch colonists. The rebellion of many of these proved a sufficiently serious matter as it was: a simultaneous and general movement would have been a real peril, which the General did well even to delay, and which he succeeded in preventing altogether. Above all these considerations, if a consider-

able force was "entangled" at Ladysmith—necessitating the despatch of a far larger relief force at a later period—the main Boer force was thereby also occupied and detained, and thus prevented from either over-running Natal or interfering with subsequent movements, as they could otherwise have done. What it might have meant and involved if the Boer forces had been disengaged and really mobile, is shown by the trouble which De Wet and Botha caused even to Lord Roberts' greatly increased army, long after the occupation of Pretoria. Judged by its effects and results, therefore, Ladysmith

and its defence deserved well of the British cause.

Looking back, however, in the light of present knowledge upon the condition of affairs in October, 1899, it is not pleasant to contemplate the perilous situation in which Natal then stood. The entire force under Sir George White's command amounted to only a little over 12,000 men, some 8,000 at Ladysmith, where he had as his lieutenants General Sir Archibald Hunter, General



SKETCH-MAP OF THE NORTH-WEST PORTION OF NATAL,
SHOWING THE SITES OF THE FIRST THREE BATTLES
OF THE WAR.

French and General Ian Hamilton; and the 4,000 at Glencoe under General Penn-Symons. Moving against them from the north and west were three forces of Boers, far stronger in numbers, and, as we were soon to realise, far better equipped as regards artillery; their main body, marching south from Newcastle, being provided with sixteen Krupps and two heavy six-inch

war, had been marred by the death of General Symons; Elandslaagte was an almost barren, as it was a costly, victory; Rietfontein could be claimed as having gone in our favour only in that it kept the Boers busy while General Yule and his men effected their hazardous retreat from Glencoe; then, in the night of October 29th, came that venturesome advance upon Nicholson's Nek, which ended



THE TUGELA FALLS.

(Photo : B. W. Caney, Durban.)

Creusots, "the best guns," as has been remarked, "that had ever been brought on to a battle-field." The chances, as we recognise now, were all against us; and when we re-read the oft-told tale of those months of anxiety and hardship we must only console ourselves with the reflection, "It might have been worse." Even at the time the record of the first three weeks of the fighting in Natal was not too comforting to the most sanguine. Our success at Talana Hill (November 20th), the first battle of the

so disastrously in the surrender of 800 of our men. A week later (but fortunately not before the arrival of the naval contingent from Durban with their two invaluable 4·7 guns), Ladysmith was completely invested and the whole of Natal north of the Tugela was overrun by the Boers, even the small British force which had been moved up from Estcourt to Colenso to guard the bridges over the Tugela having been forced to retire. Then began the advance of a force of some thousands of Boers to the south (spared by General Joubert from

his army of investment) which resulted in the destruction of the railway for many miles, the capture at Chieveley of the armoured train so

battle of Beacon Hill (November 20th), in which the invaders fared ill at the hands of Colonel Kitchener, and by their retreat, not without a



GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA.

(*"Photographer," London*)

gallantly defended by Mr. Winston Churchill and his companions, and the isolation at Estecourt of the brigade which had just taken up its quarters there under the command of General Hildyard. This was followed by the

goodly show of booty in the form of cattle, to Colenso, where as a climax to their operations they blew up the railway bridge.

Elsewhere the Boers had not had things all their own way. At Mafeking, to which they

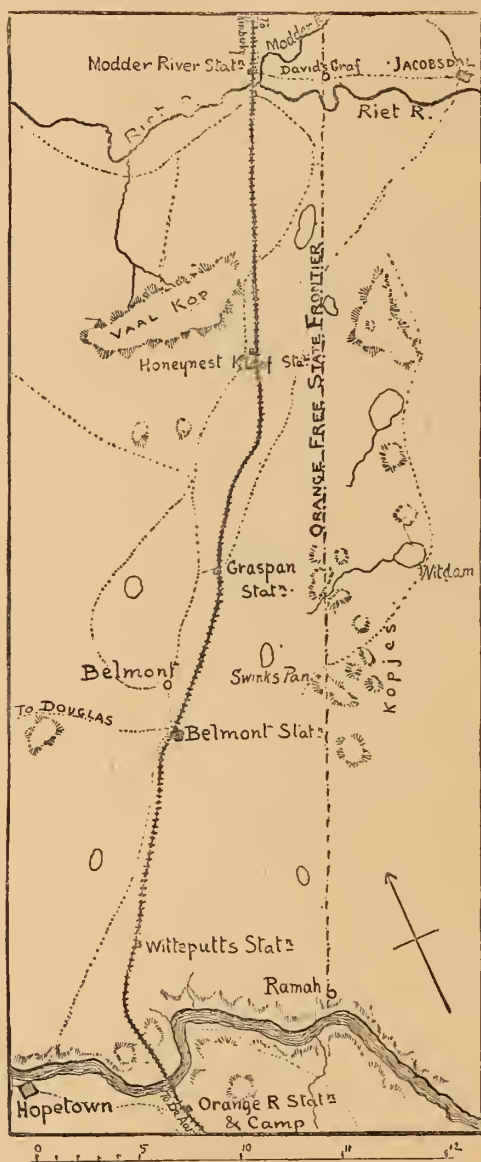
had laid siege on October 15th, they were finding a strenuous and resourceful opponent in Colonel Baden-Powell, supported by his Protectorate Regiment, Bechuanaland Rifles, and Town Guard, together with a small body of Cape Police, and a half battery of Kimberley Artillery which had come to his reinforcement in the nick of time. As with Ladysmith, but to an even greater degree, the advantage of retaining and defending Mafeking consisted in the fact that comparatively harmless occupation was thus afforded to a large force of the enemy which might otherwise have been more effectively and dangerously employed.

Here in a nutshell, in Colonel (now Major-General) Baden-Powell's own words, spoken on his return home to England in July, 1901, is the story of the siege and defence of Mafeking. "The whole object we had in view," he said, "was to hold the place, not because its possession by the Boers would have been of strategic value to them, but because we gave employment to a good many of the enemy who but for us would have been free to work mischief elsewhere. The Boers themselves were very keen on getting hold of Mafeking, and I think they attached an altogether exaggerated importance to its possession. Their game

from the first was to try to rush us, with the idea that our capture would have a bad moral effect at home. From first to last we

kept about twelve thousand Boers busy, and, as you know, thanks to the splendid fighting qualities and devotion of our men, we never hauled down the old flag."

It is, perhaps, not too much to say that but for the spirited defence of Mafeking both Ladysmith and Kimberley must have fallen almost inevitably. Of the two, Kimberley was the more attractive prize, not only by reason of its diamond mines, but also because it sheltered the person of the Boers' *bête noire*, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who had taken up his quarters there as soon as the war broke out, and who, though not working in complete harmony with Colonel Kekewich the distinguished officer in command of the garrison, had undoubtedly done much to strengthen the defences of the town. In an even more precarious condition than Kimberley itself was the railway junction at De Aar, where the stores for Lord Methuen's advance had been accumulating.

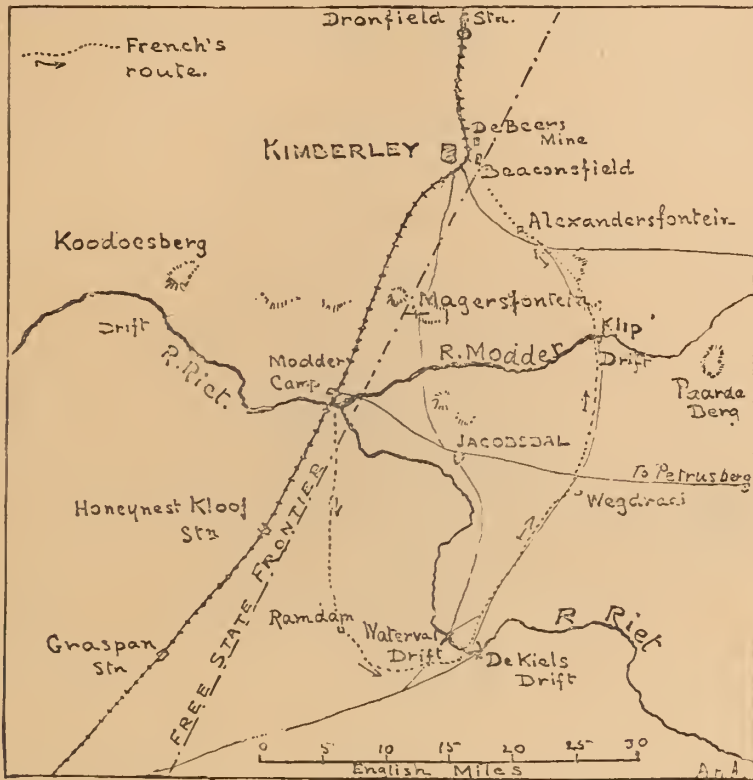


SKETCH-MAP SHOWING THE ROUTE OF LORD METHUEN'S ADVANCE.

Throughout October not less than two million pounds' worth of military stores—provisions, ammunition, mules, and fodder—were lying at De Aar, and between De Aar and Orange River, under a guard of less

than three thousand men, of whom the bulk were stationed near Orange River for the defence of the railway bridge. However, the Boers lost their chance and, as we know, Lord Methuen hammered his way northwards without incurring any greater calamity than the terrible carnage incidental to "frontal attacks" under such conditions

and Lord Kitchener (January 10th); Buller's capture and abandonment of Spion Kop (January 23rd) and Vaal Krantz (February 5th) and eventual retirement to Chieveley; General French's triumphant ride to the relief of Kimberley (February 16th), Cronje's defeat and surrender with 4,000 men at Paardeberg (February 19th), Buller's new and successful



SKETCH-MAP SHOWING THE DETOUR BY WHICH GENERAL FRENCH SUCCEEDED IN REACHING KIMBERLEY.

as marked the battles of Belmont, Graspan, and Modder River.

Neither have we space, as we have said, nor is it necessary to follow in detail all the successive stages of this long and terrible war: the series of disasters which brought the year 1899 to so tragic a close—Gatacre's repulse at Stormberg (December 10th), Methuen's defeat at Magerfontein (December 11th), Buller's still more discouraging failure at Colenso (December 15th); the period of hope and confidence inaugurated by the arrival of Lord Roberts

advance on Ladysmith, and its entry by Lord Dundonald (February 28th); the overtures for peace made early in March by Presidents Kruger and Steyn, and their rejection by the British Government; the occupation of Bloemfontein (March 13th), and the long halt; the ambush at Sanna's Post and other brilliant achievements of the Boer leader, De Wet; the gallant defence of Wepener; and the scores of other notable events which marked the course of the war down to Lord Roberts' entry into Pretoria on June 5th.

It was hoped, and for a time believed, that the occupation of Pretoria meant the ending of the war, but this was soon found to be an illusion. Our huge army was not huge enough for its task. Of the 200,000 men of which it now consisted, more than half were required for the defence of the

without their capturing some small post, effecting some clever ambush, or destroying some section of the railway. On our side there were successes too, and every month showed a diminution by death or capture of the already small forces of the enemy, but the story of this third stage of the



HOISTING THE ROYAL STANDARD IN THE MARKET SQUARE, BLOEMFONTEIN.

(Photo: *The Biograph Studio.*)

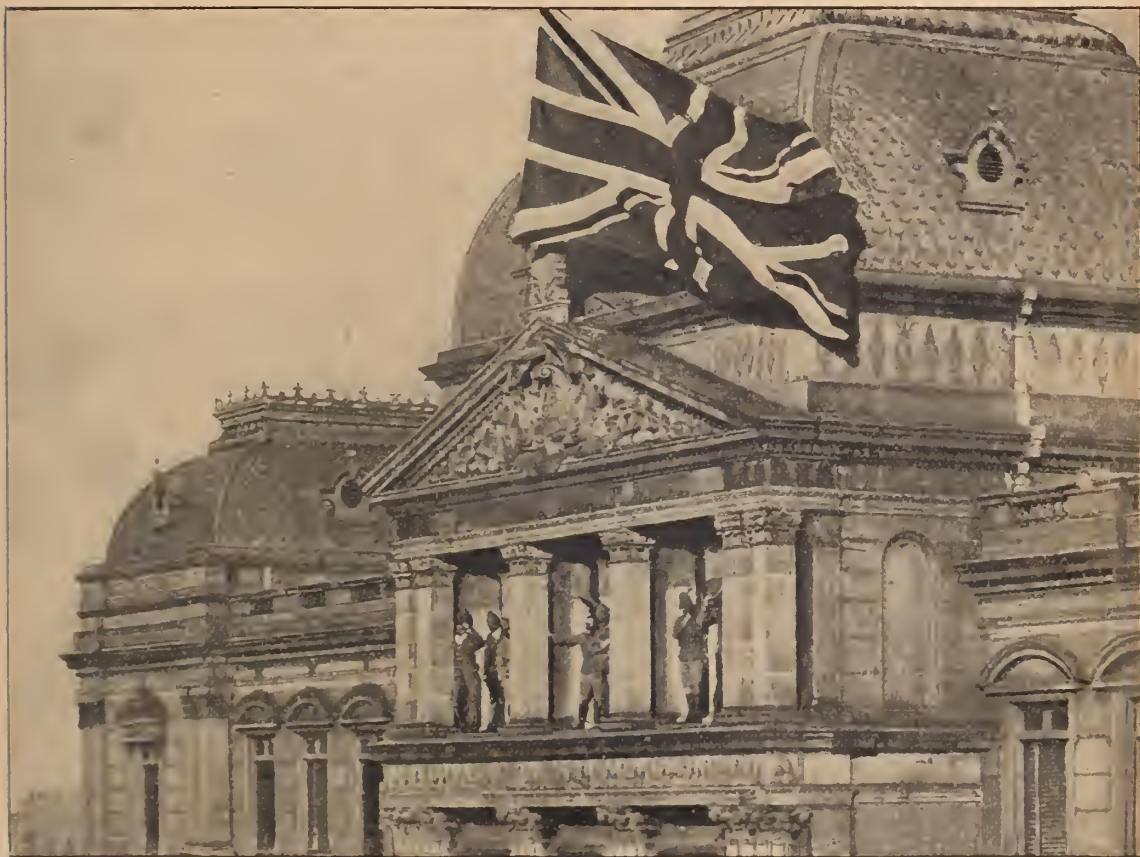
railways and of the numerous strategical points which we could not allow to fall back into the hands of the Boers. Another large section was incapacitated by fatigue or fever. Not more than 30,000, or 40,000 at the outside, were available for taking the offensive. The enemy too, under Louis Botha, General Joubert's successor, and Christian De Wet, whose daring raids had become the talk of the world, grew more and more active, hardly a day passing

war, continued month after month for more than a year after Lord Roberts' triumphal entry into the Boer capital, contains little that is comforting for English readers.

It is a relief to turn for a moment to the other side of the medal, and to note the effects of the great conflict in South Africa in knitting together all the other divisions of the Empire. Every colony sent its contingent to the Imperial army. The first

offer of men had come from Queensland so early as July 11th, 1899, some months before the actual outbreak of the war. Among the first to arrive was a squadron of New South Wales Lancers, which had been in training at Aldershot. Australia contributed in all 6,500 men; New Zealand sent 1,816; Canada

its picturesqueness—above all, what it stands for in the future history of the world? Cowboys from the vast plains of the North-West, gentlemen who ride hard with the Quorn or the Belvoir, gillies from the Sutherland deer forests, bushmen from the back blocks of Australia, exquisites of the Raleigh Club or



HOISTING THE UNION JACK OVER THE RAADSAAL, PRETORIA.

(Photo: The Biograph Studio.)

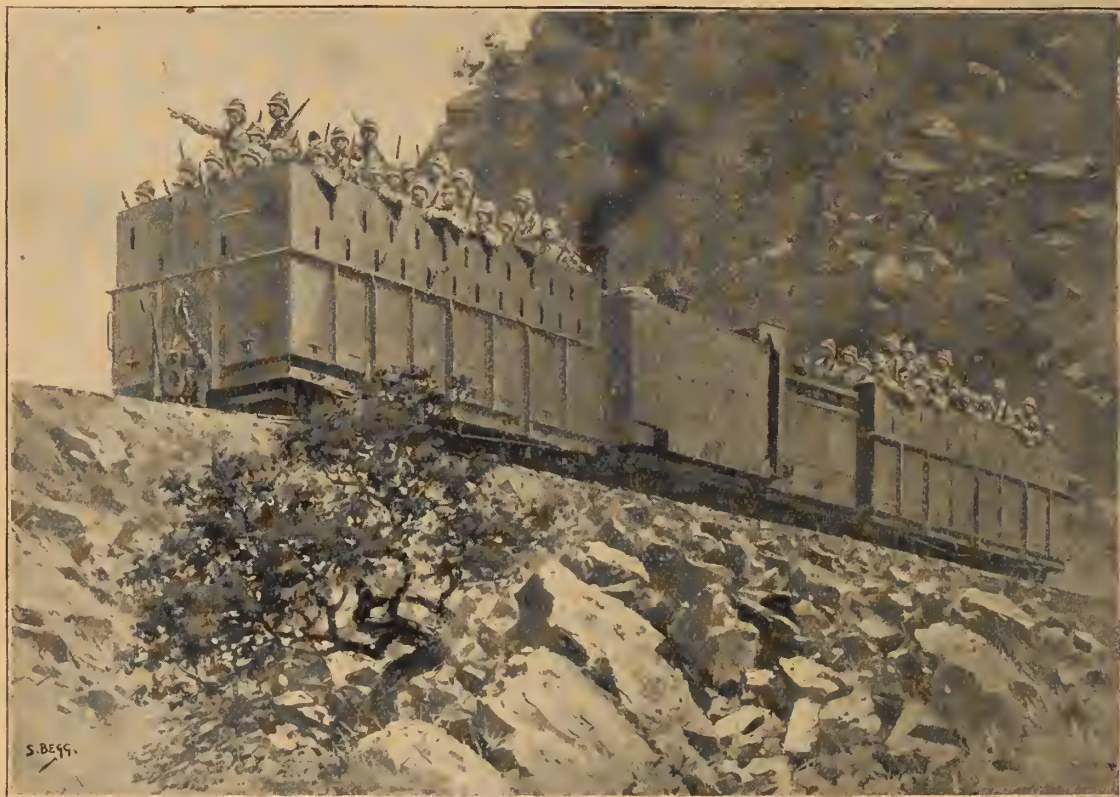
mustered nearly 3,000. The sight of all these gallant Colonials and their fellow-volunteers from India and Burmah and Ceylon, marching and fighting side by side with the Mounted Rifles and Light Horse of Cape Colony and Natal, with the Imperial Yeomanry and the C.I.V.'s, was the proverbial silver lining to the cloud. "Who has seen that army and can forget it," exclaimed Dr. Conan Doyle in his *History of the War*: "its spirit,

the Bachelors', hard men from Ontario, dandy sportsmen from India or Ceylon, the horsemen of New Zealand, the wiry South African irregulars—these are the reserves whose existence was chronicled in no Blue-book, and whose appearance came as a shock to the pedant soldiers of the Continent who had sneered so long at our little army, since long years of peace had caused them to forget its exploits. On the plains of South Africa, in

common danger and in common privation, the blood brotherhood of the Empire was sealed.

Nor were the services of these men to the cause of the welfare of South Africa to end with the war, for many of them elected to become inhabitants of the country. The Colonial Office early began to interest itself

and under what condition; making recommendations also as to the terms upon which grants should be offered to intending settlers, most of whom, it was anticipated, would be veterans of the war. The Blue-books in which the "Lands Settlement Commission," as it was entitled, have recorded the results of its inquiries and the evidence upon which its



A SORTIE WITH AN ARMoured TRAIN.

in finding openings for these new colonists, and in August, 1900, Mr. Chamberlain sent out a Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. H. O. Arnold-Forster, M.P., to inquire thoroughly into the prospects of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony (as the Orange Free State was now to be known) as a field for agricultural and industrial pursuits. They were to report whether land suitable for settlement was available, and to state, if so, what number of settlements should be formed

judgments are based, are full of interest to all students of South African affairs. The dicta of some of the generals at the front, in answer to the interrogatories addressed to them by the Commissioners, are especially worth noting. There seems to have been a consensus of opinion among them to the effect that, as Lord Methuen expresses it, "the best means of settling in this country for an old soldier is through the police. The man has time to look about him," he

continues, "and has meanwhile saved enough money to make a start." To most of the families were brought out by Government. "If single men are selected," one distinguished



A TROOPER IN THE RHODESIAN HORSE.

(Photo: W. Gregory & Co., Strand.)

generals the project of turning a proportion of our soldiers into settlers, though difficult, seemed feasible, especially if their wives and officer remarks, however, somewhat pessimistically, "they probably will marry Dutch women, and their children will probably fight against

us in the next war." To some the plan seemed unpractical; it would be far better, they considered, to hold out special inducements to regular English farmers with a certain amount of capital to come out to the Cape and try their fortunes under new conditions. The Commissioners themselves returned to England strong advocates of the idea of providing the Colony with soldier settlers, not merely with a view to exploiting and developing the natural resources of the country, but also for the purpose of outnumbering the Boer voters in those regions in which the English would be still in a minority after the war. "Dealing with the question as a whole," they say, "we desire to express our firm conviction that a well-considered scheme of settlement in South Africa by men of British origin is of the most vital importance to the future prosperity

of British South Africa. We find among those who wish to see British rule in South Africa maintained and its influence for good extended but one opinion upon this subject. There even seems reason to fear lest the vast expenditure of blood and treasure which has marked the war should be absolutely wasted, unless some strenuous effort be made to establish in the country at the close of the war a thoroughly British population large enough to make a recurrence of division and disorder impossible. We venture to believe that to this end some

sacrifice may reasonably be made and that a certain amount of pecuniary loss at the outset may be contemplated with equanimity in view of the value of the result to be attained and of the certainty that if that result be achieved any expenditure will be recouped and any loss retrieved. . . . At the commencement of the war the total male population of

the Transvaal and Orange Free State was calculated at 200,000. It can hardly be doubted that since the commencement of the war this total has been considerably diminished, owing to deaths in the field and by disease, and owing also to the fact that a certain number of the former inhabitants have left or will leave the country to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Among this class must be included the Hollander employees of the Netherlands Railway Company, to the number of 1,500, whose ser-

vices have been dispensed with, and other foreigners serving in a military capacity or otherwise who were included in the general return of the population. Of the total Boer population there is probably a portion which will accommodate itself without demur to British rule and British institutions, and which may be looked upon if not as friendly at least as not hostile to British rule. Deducting this number, the remaining total, representing what may be called the irreconcilable element, cannot be very large. To



MR. H. O. ARNOLD-FORSTER.

(Photo: Russell & Sons, Baker St.)

redress the balance and so create a British preponderance in both colonies is not a serious task, nor indeed, in view of the smallness of the number to be dealt with, is there any reason to doubt that by a constant and well-directed policy these great countries may be made thoroughly British States—a strength and not a weakness to the Empire.

This sanguine outlook is shared by many others who have had special opportunities for studying the question, notably by Major-

the entire number. This police force will be gradually reduced as circumstances permit; the men no longer needed for active service being drafted into a sort of reserve class of colonial settlers, available for military or police service in case of emergency. Referring in conversation with an interviewer to the Guildhall speech in which Lord Milner declared that it was the duty of Great Britain to give the Boers an object lesson in good government, General Baden-Powell thus



MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

(Photo: Gann & Stuart, Richmond.)

General Baden-Powell, to whom has been allotted the task of organising the body of South African Police, service in whose ranks is to be the transition stage, so to speak, between soldiering and settling. Almost without exception, these men, according to their gallant leader, should eventually develop into ideal colonists, the great majority having strong leanings in this direction and having, indeed, enlisted with this object directly in view: Canada, it is interesting to note, has contributed no less than 1,200 of

expressed his own hopes and beliefs: "Lord Milner, to whom the Empire owes an everlasting debt of gratitude, has exactly hit the nail on the head. Once give the Boers to understand that they will be governed justly and wisely, and the rest is easy. So soon as it can possibly be done, industries ought to be restarted, and the farmers induced to return to their peaceful avocations, secure in the confidence that the strong arm of the Empire will see that they are not molested and receive fair play. In the end, depend

upon it, we shall win over the Boers to our side."

Not less hopeful were the views of Mr. Chamberlain, as expressed on July 18th in the House of Commons. "I believe," he said, "that when the Boers recognise that they have been beaten, and when they are settled in peaceful occupation of their farms, and situated as they will be in the midst of a growing British population, there will not be the slightest fear of any such feeling remaining as will require us to keep in the Transvaal or the Orange Free State any considerable force of men."

Side by side with these utterances may be put the opinion formed by an unofficial student of South African affairs, Dr. Conan Doyle, whose service at the front in the Langman Field Hospital brought him into intimate touch with many of the Boers:

"In the great commercial activity which must follow the war," says Dr. Doyle, "the old burghers, seriously thinned by the long struggle, will, in the Transvaal at least, find themselves very soon in a minority." The loyal inhabitants ought soon, he thinks, to be numerous enough to hold the others in check. "There will be," he continues, "a strict registration of rifle and horses, a limit to the supply of cartridges, and a complete stoppage, of course, of all possible munitions of war. Under such circumstances, with a powerful police force, severe laws against treason, and immediate deport-

ation of all undesirable foreigners, it should not be hard to secure the Transvaal. Indeed, in a very few years I should expect to find it the most British of all the South African States. The Orange Free State may give more trouble, for unless there should be some mineral discoveries, it is hard to see what can prevent that district from remaining exclusively Dutch. In any system of franchise founded upon population, it will, however, be the weakest factor among the four confederated South African States."

It is not possible at the present moment, to attempt anything like a forecast of the terms of settlement which will be found practicable after the declaration of peace. We cannot close this chapter, however, more fittingly than by recalling a notable passage bearing upon the subject from another speech of Lord Milner's, of April 12th, 1900, one delivered in reply to an address of confidence presented to him by the Nonconformist ministers at the Cape:

"The longer the struggle lasts," he said, "the greater the sacrifices

which it involves, the stronger must surely be the determination of all of us to achieve a settlement which will render a repetition of this terrible scourge impossible. 'Never again' must be the motto of all thinking, of all humane men. It is for that reason—not for any lust of conquest, not from any desire to trample on a gallant, if misguided,



GENERAL CHRISTIAN DE WET.

enemy—that we desire that the settlement shall be no patchwork and no compromise; that it shall leave no room for misunderstanding, no opportunity for intrigue, for the revival of impossible ambitions, or the accumulation of enormous armaments. President Kruger has said that he wants no more

country. To agree to a compromise which would leave any ambiguity on that point would not be magnanimity; it would be weakness, ingratitude, and cruelty—ingratitude to the heroic dead and cruelty to the unborn generations. When I say that, do not think that I wish to join in the outcry, at pre-



TRANSPORT CROSSING A PONTOON BRIDGE AT TRICHARDT'S DRIFT.

Conventions, and I entirely agree with him. A compromise of that sort is unfair to everybody. If there is one thing of which, after recent experiences, I am absolutely convinced, it is that the vital interests of all those who live in South Africa, as much of our present enemies as of those who are on our side, demand that there should not be two dissimilar and antagonistic political systems in that which nature and history have irrevocably decided must be one

sent so prevalent, against the fine old virtue of magnanimity. I believe in it as much as I ever did, and there is plenty of room for it in the South Africa of to-day. We can show it by a frank recognition of what is great and admirable in the character of our enemies; by not maligning them as a body because of the sins of the few, or perhaps even many, individuals. We can show it by not crowing excessively over our victories, and by not thinking evil of everyone who, for one reason

or another, is unable to join in our legitimate rejoicings. We can show it by striving to take care that our treatment of those who have been guilty of rebellion, while characterised by a just severity towards the really guilty parties, shall be devoid of any spirit of vindictiveness or of race prejudice. We can show it, above all, when this dire struggle is

over, by proving by our acts that they libelled us who said that we fought for gold or any material advantage, and that the rights and privileges which we have resolutely claimed for ourselves we are prepared to freely extend to others, even to those who have fought against us, whenever they are prepared loyally to accept them."



DEMONSTRATION AT CAPE TOWN.

(Photo : Mr. C. Ray Woods, Cape Town.)

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA, JAN.—FEB., 1903.

"So little done, so much to do!" said Cecil Rhodes when he grasped the tragic fact that for him, at any rate, "doing" was at an end, and that if his dreams were ever to be realised, the work must be carried out by other brains and other hands than his own. It was a big notion, that of an Africa made conscious of itself as a whole from the Cape to Cairo, and deriving its self-knowledge from the adventurous islanders who had planted their feet in north and centre and south, and in their own blundering way were trying to complete the task they had entered upon without adequate foresight of its stupendous magnitude. It was a big notion, and he who more than any other was responsible for it may well in the closing moments of his strenuous life have felt how great was the undertaking, and how small was the proportion which any one man, however forceful, could hope in the limits of a lifetime to achieve. And so, like another Moses, the great man expired, intoxicated with the vision of the promised land, though half distrustful whether the ideal could ever become a reality.

It is as yet too early to prophesy as to the fulfilment of those great hopes. The new

Soudan is an impressive illustration of what is possible to men with a genius for administration, and here the prospects are most promising. In Uganda, though much has been done, there is yet "so much to do."

The recent history of Somaliland has served to remind us of the dangers and uncertainties that still attend the work of African exploration and colonisation. It is too soon to attempt even a record of the events of the last few years in these and so many other regions of the Dark Continent. The aspect of things changes too rapidly.

With the echoes of war hardly out of our ears, and the *Te Deums* for peace still on our lips, South Africa, however, occupies a place apart in the minds of Englishmen. And it is a satisfaction to be able to offer some account of so auspicious an event as the recent visit of Mr. Chamberlain. It is not



H.M.S. "GOOD HOPE."
(Photo: Wet & Son, Southsea.)

too much to say that a new era in South African politics was foreshadowed in October, 1902, when an unpretending paragraph in the daily papers officially announced that "Mr. Chamberlain would proceed to South Africa at an early date."

The announcement came at an opportune

moment. Six months had elapsed since peace had been signed at Pretoria, and the work of repatriation and restoration had ever since been going steadily on, but as the process of pacification advanced, the difficulties inseparable from the task became more apparent. The passions and the bitterness arising from three years of stubborn warfare were not to be immediately extinguished. Misunderstandings concerning details were inevitably causing friction that might well become really dangerous. The conquered burghers were still unconvinced that their attempts by pressure to obtain a relaxation of the peace terms were ill-advised, and that even in their own interests a policy of importunity was a mistake. The questions of the contribution of the mining community to the cost of the war and of the conditions of native labour in the mines were still unsolved. In general the aspect of affairs was such as to demand the most serious attention of the department responsible for Colonial affairs and of the statesman at its head. The news, therefore, that Mr. Chamberlain had determined to leave the beaten track of administration by dispatch and cablegram, and personally to visit the scene of operations, was received with unanimous approval; and when in the course of the debate in the House of Commons on the vote for the Peace Settlement, early in November, Mr. Chamberlain said that "he was going to South Africa with a full predetermination to listen to everything that might be said to him by every representative man and body that had a right to be heard," it was agreed on all hands that the visit, if carried out on such lines, could not be without happy results for the future of the South African colony.

Three weeks later, on the 22nd November, 1902, the warship *Good Hope*, especially commissioned by command of H.M. the King for the purpose of the Colonial Secretary's voyage, steamed out of Portsmouth Harbour with Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain on board; and so, exactly a month after the announcement of

the mission, the first step towards its fulfilment had been taken.

On the 4th December, the *Good Hope* arrived at Port Said, where Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain landed, proceeding immediately to Cairo, where they were met by Lord and Lady Cromer. The Colonial Secretary was thus able to see at first hand the work accomplished in Egypt since the English occupation, and to discuss it with the great statesman under whose practical genius the transformation had been effected. Two days later the Duke and Duchess of Connaught arrived at Cairo on their way to perform the ceremony of the great irrigation dam at Assuan. Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain rejoined the *Good Hope* at Suez, and on the 26th December the voyage was completed by her arrival at Durban.

The first speech made by Mr. Chamberlain in South Africa was a more or less formal acknowledgment of the address of welcome presented to him by the corporation of Durban, but his first important deliverance was made later in the day, when, after the public luncheon, he rose to reply to the toast of his health. The speech was marked by two principal features—the definite insistence upon the finality of the verdict passed by the war, and a stirring appeal to the two quondam rival nations to sink their past differences and with sentiments of mutual conciliation to devote themselves to securing the common good. "When," he said, "the smoke of the great war-cloud has passed away may we not hope that both sides will be content to forget all that we ought not to remember, and seek to work cordially for the common good? Two proud and kindred races have come to stay in South Africa. They are kindred races, kindred in origin, alike in the great qualities which both nations have throughout their glorious history constantly displayed, the love of freedom, of endurance, of tenacity and resolution, independence and self-reliance. Neither of us were nations to surrender without a fight, and it is my opinion that this terrible war which we all deplore was in the



DURBAN.
(Photo: J. H. Murray, Pietermaritzburg.)

nature of things inevitable, and could have been prevented permanently by no statesmanship. Now the trial has come, the issue has been decided, and the British flag will be and must be paramount in South Africa. If that be granted which is freely conceded by those brave men who led the foe, what can longer separate us?"

At Durban also Mr. Chamberlain expressed his views at length on the topics of the future federation of the South African colonies and the prospect of the grant of self-government to the new colonies. In regard to the former he made it clear that federation must come as the result of a spontaneous aspiration of the colonies themselves. "Federation," he declared, "will not be imposed by the Imperial Government. The mother country will not burn her fingers again. She will heartily rejoice when the united people of South Africa demand a new constitution. In order to secure this end each colony would have to make sacrifices, and must be prepared to give and take so that the greater advantages for the whole might be obtained by a certain amount of self-devotion on the part of the component elements." On the question of self-government he was equally definite: "Surely," he said, "we have a right before we consider the grant of self-government to ask our Boer friends for the active loyalty which we hope is to follow their present passive loyalty. It would be a dereliction of Imperial duty if we put it into the power of individuals or a party to undo by political agitation the work so painfully accomplished by force of arms. Until the Orange River and the Transvaal Colonies were in a position to undertake their own defence and to guarantee the security of the loans necessary for their development, it would be useless to talk of withdrawing the Imperial garrison or the control of the Imperial Government."

A night of welcome rain preceded Mr. Chamberlain's journey to Pietermaritzburg on the following morning, and as the train toiled upward over Natal's "corkscrew railway" (as

a Durban orator had termed it the evening before), and made its way over "the open country where the fields and hedges resemble English landscape in everything but size, where the thirsty land was still drinking in the little streams that whirled down every channel," the young crops seemed to sprout and grow almost visibly "with the marvellous growth of tropical grain under the most favourable circumstances." The little stations up the line were brightly and tastefully decorated, one of them being transformed "from its everyday gaunt and corrugated aspect into a garden of ferns and magnificent white lilies," while at the health resort of Inehanga a beautiful bouquet of Natal orchids, comprising specimens of every indigenous species then in flower, had been prepared for presentation to Mrs. Chamberlain, an attention which particularly gratified the Colonial Minister.

A banquet at the Pietermaritzburg Town Hall on the day after his arrival was the occasion of another speech by Mr. Chamberlain, devoted principally to the all-important object of drawing together the bonds between Boer and Briton, but insisting also upon the point that henceforth there would be no weakness in England's attitude towards South Africa. "Let it be once and for all understood, here and elsewhere," he said in emphatic tones, "that the old policy of neglect and carelessness with regard to the colonies is past, and, I hope, forgotten. The Empire is one. Had it been possible for us to lose South Africa, none know better than you do that the Empire would have gone to pieces like an arch from which the keystone had been withdrawn. It was to keep that edifice intact that we fought this inevitable war. We have now added two, as I hope, solid stones to it. I am alluding to our new colonies, and I believe they will prove as sound as the rest. But it will be for us, for the colonies and the Empire, to see that the sacrifices which have been made to put those two stones in their proper places shall not be thrown away."



MR. CHAMBERLAIN ADDRESSING ZULU CHIEFS AT COLENSO.

From Pietermaritzburg the Colonial Secretary and his party, which included the Premier of Natal, Sir Albert Hime, and the Governor, Sir Henry McCallum, proceeded on their journey next day to Colenso, and thence, after a night's rest, to Ladysmith.

"It was happy New Year holiday time at Ladysmith," says a writer in the *Cape Times*, "and the historic town was attired in all the glory of the season and more. An ambitious scheme of decoration festooned the streets from the railway station to the Crown Lodge with hundreds of flags, and the inhabitants adorned their premises lavishly. The centre of attraction was the far-famed Town Hall, with its carefully preserved cupola half shot away. A Union Jack flew proudly from its battered summit, and foliage and fine drapery relieved the bare outlines. At the station, a temporary verandah had been built out at the back, facing the goods siding, with a vacant space sufficient to accommodate a multitude. The station itself was disguised in greenery, the name-plate being made the basis of a bold welcoming device. The event of the day was the presentation of the civic address of welcome. This was a handsome document, the work of a trooper in the S.A.C., who hailed originally from Birmingham, and was ornamented with sketches representing the *Good Hope*, a view of Bulwana and the Town Hall. All round the town, from the ridge of the Convent Hill to Cæsar's Camp, fluttered flags, and the guard of honour and band of the Shropshire Regiment, drawn up in the midst of the crowd, imparted an additional brightness to an interesting scene."

Needless to describe in detail Mr. Chamberlain's movements in Ladysmith and its neighbourhood—his visits to such famous sites as Wagon Hill, and Cæsar's Camp, and Spion Kop. His speeches were notable chiefly for the cordial tributes they contained to "that great soldier, Sir George White," and his gallant comrades in the defence of the town during its long and now famous siege. On Saturday, January 3rd, Mr. Chamberlain resumed his journey to Pretoria, with brief

stoppages at Glencoe Junction, Newcastle, Charleston (whither Lord Milner had come by express train from Johannesburg to meet him), Heidelberg, and Elandsfontein.

It was a matter for much speculation and some anxiety what attitude would be adopted towards Mr. Chamberlain by the Boer leaders. Sir Arthur Lawley, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Transvaal, must therefore have experienced a strong feeling of satisfaction when Messrs. Louis Botha, Piet Cronje, De la Rey, and Smut put in an appearance together at the formal reception in Mr. Chamberlain's honour in the grounds of Government House. With the meeting between the Colonial Secretary and the burgher generals, the really important part of the imperial mission may be said to have begun. It was an auspicious beginning, and may probably be held to have had a beneficial effect upon the subsequent deliberations. There is much virtue in a favourable first impression.

The proceedings at the great banquet which was held the same evening in the Market Hall were not quite so gratifying or reassuring as the outset. In proposing the toast of Lord Milner Mr. Greenlees delivered himself of a long and elaborate criticism of the existing form of government, and petitioned for a system of Crown Colony government which should consist of a little less of the Crown and a little more of the Colony. The chairman, in proposing the toast of the evening, followed in similar strain, protesting incidentally against the removal of the capital to Johannesburg. When, however, at last Mr. Chamberlain rose good-humouredly to reply, he met with a warm reception, which grew into enthusiasm before he resumed his seat. They must not be in too great a hurry, he told his hearers. They must not expect him to settle off-hand questions that they themselves had been vainly studying for years. Proceeding to set forth the main objects of his visit, he declared that the Imperial policy must be one of union and conciliation so far as conciliation led to union. "Now that is a somewhat important qualification," he con-

tinned. "Conciliation we all desire, but it is not conciliation to attempt to meet the views of your opponents if at the same time you alienate your friends, and it is of no use to make concessions if they are to be interpreted as a sign of weakness, if they are to be merely

racés into one African race." After an expression of his belief in the sincerity of the Boer assurances of loyalty, and a generous tribute to the work done by Lord Milner, Mr. Chamberlain passed on to what he said he considered the most urgent of all practical



A STOCK FARM IN NATAL.
(Photo: J. H. Murray, Pietermaritzburg.)

a prelude to further demands. But, subject to this qualification, I say that it is the duty and the interest of every Briton in this country to do his utmost to secure not merely an alliance between the two white races that have inhabited it, and will continue to inhabit it, but to secure if possible a fusion of these

questions, namely, the settlement of the claims for compensation. "It is perfectly evident," he went on, "that even an arbitrary settlement is better than a long delay. While the matter is still in dispute nobody is able to settle down, and the population is unable to devote themselves to their immediate

work. This is a matter which has engaged the careful attention of Lord Milner and myself, and as a result we have agreed upon a scheme which will be immediately submitted to the Government here, and we hope if that scheme is accepted we may lay down a general principle of settlement which will enable us most materially to hasten the payment of claims. I do not wish to raise false expectations. I do not for a moment pretend that the Government can satisfy all the demands which may be made upon it. The wealth of India would be insufficient for the claims which everybody is ready to make upon what is supposed, most erroneously, to be a bottomless purse. But although war must involve suffering, and the suffering is no doubt greater in the case of the defeated party than in the case of the conquerors, that suffering must be borne by both parties; and although we can lessen the suffering, we cannot make good all losses. We cannot put back everybody into the position he had before the war.

"I have received some complaints that the work of repatriation is proceeding more rapidly than the work of the settlement of claims for compensation. That complaint is unreasonable and unjust. Of course, repatriation takes precedence of the settlement of claims, for two reasons. First, because to resettle men on their farms with the prospect of being able to gain a subsistence instead of retaining them in concentration camps at the public expense is a matter, not only of humanity and generosity, but of good policy and good economy. To repatriate a man who is destitute, to give him immediately and without inquiry the means necessary to resume work, requires little time."

Mr. Chamberlain came next to the delicate question of the colony's contribution to the war indemnity, and his frank yet tactful treatment of the subject was greeted with loud applause. "We want nothing from you," he declared, "which, if you were a self-governing colony to-day, you would not give as a willing expression of your loyalty and

patriotism, and of your appreciation of your duty to share the burdens as well as the privileges of Empire. And I say to you once and for all that I would rather go back to England empty-handed—as I am told indeed by the organ of the Radical press that I shall go back—I would rather go back empty-handed than bear with me an arrangement which was extorted from an unwilling people." After an eloquent and impressive peroration the Colonial Secretary sat down amid a very storm of cheers.

On Thursday, January 8th, the Raadzaal, Pretoria, was the scene of a notable assembly, of which the *raison d'être* was the presentation to Mr. Chamberlain of an address from the Boer people. "It was as memorable a scene," says Mr. George Griffith in his interesting little volume "With Chamberlain Through South Africa," "as the African sun has ever looked upon." Mr. Griffith had the good fortune to be present, and gives an excellent account of the proceedings. "The chamber in which the First Raad used to sit," he tells us, "under the presidency of Kruger is about eighty feet long by sixty wide. About three sides are galleries supported by pillars. Along the third wall run three tiers of desks. In the centre is the raised, canopied dais on which stands the throne-seat of the fallen despot. Then come two narrow platforms running the whole length of the hall, and below these, in the centre, three large desks. Immediately in front of these and a couple of feet below them is the first of the semicircular rows of seats which occupy the floor of the chamber.

"The last time I had seen it it was filled by a very similar audience to the assembly of that memorable Thursday morning. The seats were occupied, as they had been before, by bronzed and bearded Boers, strong of face and heavy of build, albeit somewhat slovenly of dress and unkempt as to beard and hair; but still the same strong, short-spoken men who have made their name famous, even in defeat, throughout the world.

"But here the resemblance between the



GENERAL VIEW OF LADYSMITH.

two scenes of to-day and yesterday ended. The throne-seat of King Kruger was vacant. A row of English and Colonial correspondents occupied the places of his Councillors; the galleries were filled with brilliantly dressed women, brightest of all among whom was the daughter of the Sister Nation who had crossed the seas with the Peacemaker to win the hearts of those who had been our enemies, even as he won their heads. And there, at the centre one of the three desks below

with something of a Hebrew type of gravity; Louis Botha, with short black moustache, shaven cheeks and pointed beard, mild-looking almost to sleekness, with soft brown eyes that you could hardly fancy the glint of battle in; Dr. Smuts, tall, slim and fair, and as carefully groomed as though he had just come down Bond Street; Piet Cronje, dark, sullen, slovenly and unkempt, looking as though he had not had a good wash since he left St. Helena; Cherrie Emmett, close-



MR. AND MRS. CHAMBERLAIN AND LORD MILNER.

(Photo: Nissen, Pretoria.)

the throne-seat, sat the Peacemaker himself, orchid in button-hole, eyeglass in eye, just as though he might have walked in that moment from the floor of the House of Commons—save that the suns of the tropics had added a shade of bronze to the keen, clear-cut features which the Boers were watching so anxiously and so fruitlessly. On his right sat Lord Milner, and on his left the Governor of the Transvaal.

“Before him on the front semicircle of seats sat the men whose names the tramp of war had sounded throughout the civilised world: Adriaan De la Rey, bearded, grave and dignified,

clipped and dressed like an English country gentleman in Norfolk jacket, breeches and gaiters; and last, but not least in importance, Christiaan Rudolph de Wet, the hero of a hundred runs and, I think, one pitched fight, big limbed, grey, grim and restless-eyed, who sat silent throughout the whole proceedings, the nails of his right hand dug into his thick iron-grey beard, his teeth clenched, and his lips only relaxing every now and then into a smile which was not at all pleasant to look upon.”

Dr. Smuts opened the proceedings by requesting Mr. Chamberlain to receive the

address. He then proceeded to read it in the Taal, an interpreter translating it paragraph by paragraph. After dealing with the question of amnesty and the granting of permission to the Boer leaders in Europe to return to South Africa, it referred to the native question. It declared that the Boers were desirous of justice and fair treatment for natives, but pointed out that the events of the late war had unsettled their minds. They

suggested that men should be appointed to the School Board who would give effect to the wishes of parents. The address stated that the present system was calculated to produce great discontent.

Dr. Smuts, in explaining the address, said that the curse of South Africa had been the mutual disrespect that had existed between the white races, and the result of the war was that they could now look each other in the



MR. AND MRS. CHAMBERLAIN, WITH SIR A. LAWLEY AND LADY LYTTELTON, AT PRETORIA.

(Photo: Nissen, Pretoria.)

wished the new Government to let the natives clearly understand that, while there had been a change of Government, there had been no change in their relations with whites. With regard to taxation for the war, the address prayed that nothing might be done until the country had representative government. On the language question, the address expressed dissatisfaction at the way the Taal had been treated by the new Government, and complained of the inability of officials to speak Dutch, and also that no adequate provision had been made for teaching in schools. It

face and shake hands as white men, and work together on a basis of respect which had not hitherto existed. Only on this basis had they drawn up their address to Mr. Chamberlain. He declared that the amnesty question was a question of honour to every burgher of the late Republic. They felt that while they were free the men who had fought with them were still in gaol, and, therefore, they asked for an amnesty for them. The burghers felt that not those in gaol were criminal, but the burghers themselves who had encouraged these people to join them. This not only

touched their honour, but their consciences, and, therefore, they requested Mr. Chamberlain, as his mission was reconciliation, to write the word "reconciliation" in large letters across South Africa. Let the gaols be opened, and those people, who were there for the same thing for which burghers were free, be let free, and Mr. Chamberlain's visit to South Africa would long be remembered. They were aware that the question of amnesty belonged to the local administration, but they asked Mr. Chamberlain to use his influence. On the native question Dr. Smuts reiterated the assertion made in the address. They would always support the natives in the matter of justice and fair treatment; but the war had brought about misunderstanding, and many natives were now occupying Boer farms, and in consequence of the war thought the farms belonged to them. It was very desirable that the Government should make the position clear to the natives, as it would remove all misunderstanding.

While listening to the reading of the address and to Dr. Smuts's speech, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Griffith tells us, had been "busy with a pencil on a sheet of foolscap—the features of his sphinx-like face tense with attention." When he rose to reply, "his face was like flint, and his words had a curious metallic ring which made the Boers look up with a sudden start. . . . To some extent their oratorical effect was marred by the necessity of translating them phrase by phrase, and yet something was gained by the very deliberation which was enforced." He thought, he told his listeners, that those of them who read the newspapers and followed the course of public opinion would have seen that there was growing up a certain impatience of all these constant and reiterated demands, and that there was an impression that, while the Boer leaders were most excellent people at bargaining, they failed to recognise or desire that when a bargain was once made it should be stuck to. The terms of peace at Vereeniging had been the subject of long discussion, and they were submitted to the burghers in

the field. He did not assert that they gave everything to the Boers that the Boers desired, but, such as they were, they were the best they could give, and they were finally loyally accepted. It was a little too early to try now to go behind or further than the terms then concluded. The terms of Vereeniging were the charter of the Boer nation. They had every right to call upon the British to fulfil them in spirit and letter. If, in any respect, they thought these terms had not been, or would not be, carried out in the future, let them bring complaints and they would be redressed.

Mr. Chamberlain then proceeded to examine the different points which were brought to his notice in the memorial and the speech of Dr. Smuts. In the first place, as regards amnesty to rebels, they would not find in the terms at Vereeniging any allusion to that question. No demand in regard to the rebels was either made or considered, and it was therefore a matter outside and beyond what he had called their charter. But, although nothing was said in the terms of surrender, the British representatives, in order to avoid all future misunderstanding on the subject, put in a paper, which they gave to the Boer leaders before the terms were signed, in which it was stated in exact terms what would be done to the rebels. That paper said that rebels would be subject to the laws and decisions of the self-governing colonies in which their crimes were committed, and there the matter might have been allowed to rest; but the British authorities had themselves, without any pressure, already done a great deal to meet what they knew to be the Boers' wishes. The Government of Natal, of its own accord, had released the greater number of rebels who were in prison in that colony. In other parts of the country, in accordance with the report of the Commission which the British Government had appointed, which consisted of some of their greatest lawyers, hundreds had been released, and sentences on others had been largely reduced. This showed that they were not animated by

a vindictive spirit, and they had already exercised without pressure a large moderation. Only the worst cases remained. In some of these cases the charges included something more than rebellion, and in some of them persons who had been pardoned and taken the oath of neutrality had broken their oath and taken up arms for a second time. Those who, as Dr. Smuts said, had been members of the former Government, and he hoped of "the country which in a short time would be just as free," must feel with him that there was no more serious political offence than rebellion against a free Government. Now, they asked him to act as if the offence, which cut at the root of all free government, was a venial offence. He asked them to bear in mind their own actions. How did they treat their own rebels? They shot, imprisoned, sjamboked, and fined them."

"Every one of these words," says Mr. Griffith, "came out like the crack of a stock-whip; and then, with one of those marvellous changes of manner, he added in the blandest tones, 'And I don't say you were wrong.'"

The sourest old Boers in the room had to smile at this. Then the voice hardened again. 'And yet you come here to ask me to pardon those who have committed the very crimes which you never forgave—No!'

"The knuckles came down again hard on the blotting pad, and then came silence. The interpreter's voice shook as he translated the words which meant so much to hundreds of traitors, undesirables, and irreconcilable prisoners of war—but for all that I do not think that Joseph Chamberlain ever really stood as high in the estimation of the Boers as he did at that moment. Your real Boer is a man himself, and he likes and honours a man when he sees one."

The meeting closed quite amicably with Mr. Chamberlain's cordial acceptance of the burghers' invitation to him to visit the more remote districts of the colony, and with his appeal to them for their loyal co-operation in promoting the peace and welfare of South Africa.

At Johannesburg Mr. Chamberlain carried everything before him no less triumphantly. He began his first speech upon arrival, in the grounds of the Wanderers' Club, with an em-



MR. CHAMBERLAIN EN VOYAGE.
(Photo: Percy Watson.)

phatic recognition of the Rand as the dominating factor in the evolution of South Africa. "Our difficulties began here," he said, "and here they must be settled." A roar of cheers from his vast audience assured him that he had struck the right note from the start. "This city of yours," he continued, "in consequence of its population and its wealth, and the fact that it is the centre of the greatest industry of South Africa, must have a most important effect upon the solution of that great settlement which I have come here to try and help to solve. I hope and believe that this influence will be used wisely, for it will take time, devotion, and self-sacrifice on the part of all to weld the present portions of this new country into a great nation."

Mr. Chamberlain then proceeded as follows:—"I have come here in the hope that I may be able to strengthen the hand of Lord Milner in the gigantic task to which he has devoted such conspicuous ability and patriotism. I hope that all of you know and appreciate the magnitude of the task he has already done. I know how you trust him. When I go back I hope to be better able to co-operate with him in the work which he is carrying on. He came to you as a friend in the darkest days of your adversity, when you were subject to oppression and insult, and supported your appeal for the intervention of the Imperial Government. He thought your cause was just, and told you that no Briton should ever appeal to the mother country in a just cause and go away dissatisfied. I never joined in the calumnies levelled against you. On the contrary, I have, when opportunity has offered, denounced those men who always find their countrymen in the wrong and attribute every virtue to their foes, and see no good whatever in their friends. You in Johannesburg have been accused of clamouring for war to fill your pockets. The falsity of this accusation has been shown. You risked everything to preserve those rights which no self-respecting Briton could surrender without humiliation. You have been accused of unwillingness to share in the

dangers of a war which you provoked. That reproach was wiped out by the Imperial Light Horse at Ladysmith, and by the gallantry of the contingents sent from this city to fight and die in many of the fiercest encounters of the war. At the same time the courage and cheerfulness with which the women of Johannesburg, too, driven from home and exposed to want and suffering, bore their troubles, deserve the recognition of their countrymen throughout the world. What you did in war I believe you are prepared to do in peace; and I believe that you will be prepared in peace to take your part if ever again a call should be made on you. It is a sincere source of pleasure and satisfaction to me, on my entrance into this city, to pass in review the members of the local Volunteers who constitute the beginnings of a splendid force, which it will, I hope, be your care and business to increase in still greater proportions."

Mr. Chamberlain came next to the question of the expenditure entailed by the war. "Still another calumny!" he began, with a meaning smile which gave his amused hearers a hint of what was coming. "Still another calumny! It has been said that you are prepared to repudiate your share of the expenditure which has been incurred in the war. There are people who say that you, whose interests came first—while not only the motherland, but the sister colonies made sacrifices to maintain them—that you alone in the British Empire will fail in your duty.' Here there were the loud cries of "No! No!" for which the orator had played. "I will wait and see," he continued, with another smile. The audience laughed again heartily and good humouredly. "I do not believe that men who faced personal danger and suffering with so much bravery will now show that they care more for their purses than they did for their lives. Now, while you are considering that subject, I will call you to witness that the mother country has done its duty by you. When you appealed for help, did she shrink from

the call? She answered without hesitation. She has poured out blood and treasure without stint. I think that in the future, at any rate, it will never be said that she is forgetful of the ties which bind her to her children. She has vindicated her place in the eyes of the world and justified her claims to the headship of the British race. No. Every Briton, wherever he may plant his feet, will carry with him the proud thought:

Surely in toil or fray,
Under an alien sky,
Comfort it is to say,
‘Of no mean city am I.’”

There was more of the holiday spirit about Mr. Chamberlain's visit to Johannesburg, perhaps, than about any other part of his expedition. A garden party given by Sir Percy and Lady FitzPatrick in the grounds of Hohenheim, in Parktown, a reception given in Mrs. Chamberlain's honour by the American Women's Club, and visits to two typical Rand gold mines—the Robinson Deep and the City and Suburban—were among many pleasant interludes to the innumerable interviews with deputations and delegates, Boer and British, which occupied the greater portion of the Colonial Secretary's time. After a week thus spent in strenuous study of every aspect of Johannesburg life Mr. Chamberlain was well primed for what was to be perhaps the greatest oratorical effort of his tour—his speech at the public banquet given on January 17th in the skating rink of the Wanderers' grounds. After some preliminary observations upon the unique position of Johannesburg in the South African world, Mr. Chamberlain embarked boldly upon the all-important question of the share it should take in the burdens imposed by the war. He began by declaring how greatly he had been gratified by the spirit in which the question had been met by everyone with whom he had discussed it. “Not one man,” he said, “has for a moment attempted to shirk any obligation which might be justly imposed on him or on those for whom he might be

entitled to speak in regard to the matter. On the other hand, those whom I have consulted have impressed on me the great importance of doing nothing to hinder the development of the country. I believe their observations were made quite as much in a spirit of Imperial loyalty as in any regard for their own local interests. I have shared these views from the first. I have said that I did not desire to take a penny if I should thereby prevent that natural progress and most desirable development which are an essential factor in the pacification of the country. But, having regard to that, the idea which I brought out with me was that the difficulty could be best met by asking from the Transvaal, not an addition to the existing taxation, but a contribution from the surpluses from new sources of revenue which might be annually applied until they had reached a *maximum* to be fixed. If that view had prevailed I should have asked you for a *maximum* at a much higher sum than anything which has hitherto been spoken of, and I should have thought it fair because it would have been conditional on the increased prosperity of the country, and would have been proportionate to that increased prosperity. But it was represented to me that, besides the uncertainty that would attend an arrangement of that kind, there was always a serious danger that the contribution would be prolonged, possibly over a generation, and would give rise in the future, when perhaps other events would have caused the memory of the great war to pass away, to an invitation to discussion in which it might be represented under the odious name of a tribute to the mother country. In addition to this, to attempt to earmark and put aside any particular source of revenue would involve and justify an interference on the part of the Imperial Government with what are essentially local concerns and local financial arrangements, which in time would be intolerable to the population. I felt the great force of these objections, and saw that if I did not take them into account I should be in danger of

injuring the very cause I wished to promote, and instead of securing the unity of the Empire I might leave behind me the seeds of dissension, might leave a legacy which would be certain to result in danger to that union which we all desire.

"I agreed, therefore, that, if possible, the question should be settled in a way which would secure a practical and immediate result. That is, that there shall be no earmarking whatsoever of any existing or possible sources of revenue, and consequently no harassing interference on the part of anyone external to the Transvaal. Under these circumstances, after continuous discussion, a proposition has been evolved which is satisfactory to those representative associations which met to-day, and which I am glad to accept on behalf of his Majesty's Government. Let me tell you what the proposal is. Bear in mind that it all hangs together, and that one part cannot be separated from another. The first part, permit me to say, is wholly in your favour. It is a unique and unprecedented act on the part of the Imperial Government. We undertake to submit to Parliament a Bill to guarantee a loan of 35 millions sterling on the security of the assets of the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, which are being united for this purpose. I hope you will agree with me that this is a proposal of happy augury for the future unification of the interests of these two colonies. The loan will be raised as soon as Parliament assents. I should describe it as an investment loan, for it will be devoted to paying the existing debts of the Transvaal, to buying the existing railways, to providing for the construction of new lines in the two new colonies. It will allow for the necessary expenditure upon public works, and will also provide for the land settlement. You will see that in this way the Governments of the Transvaal and of the Orange River Colony will, if the arrangement is accepted by the Imperial Parliament, be immediately placed in funds which will enable them to provide for the development of the country in the next few years."

Loud cheers announced the satisfaction with which this statement had been listened to. Mr. Chamberlain proceeded:—"The second part of the agreement is this. As soon as possible after the placing of the first loan another loan of 30 millions will be issued, to be called up in annual instalments of ten millions. This loan will be treated as a war debt, secured on the assets of the Transvaal. There is no doubt in my mind, or in that of any of those with whom I have conferred, that the assets and revenues of the Transvaal will be ample to provide for the service of this debt, but as proof of their faith in the solvency of the country, that group of financiers who are specially connected with South Africa has undertaken to subscribe the first 10 millions, and not to take any commission or any preferential security for the remainder of the loan. By this they have, in my opinion, rendered the success of the loan on the London market beyond all doubt. If this arrangement approves itself to you, or if, as far as you can judge, it approves itself to the population of the Transvaal, it will accomplish its object in less than three years from the present day: it will place no undue burden on the resources of the Transvaal; and it will even hasten its speedy development. It will be accepted, I firmly believe, by the people of the mother country as an adequate and liberal recognition on the part of this colony of its duty to the Empire at large, and of the gratitude which it has so frequently expressed, and which I believe it so sincerely feels, towards the nation and towards the mother nation which came to its assistance in the time of need. I would add one other word. If I know my countrymen at home, as I think I do, they will value the coin more for the spirit in which the offer is made than for the relief it is likely to afford the Exchequer."

The Colonial Secretary went on to give an emphatic denial to the rumours that outside the arrangement he had described there was an ignoble bargain between him and the representatives of the mining interests, they

consenting to be taxed, and he, on behalf of the Imperial Government, agreeing to the introduction of Chinese labour. "Anything of the sort," he said, "would be discreditable to the mining interests and almost treasonable on my part. Since I have been here no man and no body of men has even approached me with a request that I would give any assent or approval to any such proposal." Opportunities for discussions upon the labour question were, however, he felt, most vital at the present moment. It was not a question which concerned the mines alone. Every Boer representative who had spoken to him had called particular attention to that question as being as important for the farmers as for the mine owners. At the present moment there was not labour enough for the natural development of the industries of the country, and it was said, though it was also denied, that there was sufficient for all needs in South Africa provided the Kaffir could be made to work. This was the *crux* of the situation. While every civilised nation recognised the duty of labour, the African alone had been taught by centuries that the only honourable employment for man was fighting, and that to labour was the work of slaves. We had done much to put a stop to slavery, and in theory we had stopped it. It would, therefore, be a surprise to some philanthropists at home to hear that we were encouraging it in another form. The Kaffir worked with the object of being able to buy

himself a wife who should keep him in idleness. Every Englishman had a great objection to forced labour, but this worst form of forced labour would be supported by almost every missionary. The only hope for the improvement of the coloured man was in continuous work.

The second problem of the labour question was the possibility of increasing the amount and efficiency of the white labour employed. "Those best qualified to speak," continued Mr. Chamberlain, "say it is impossible as a substitute for black labour. I will go further and say that even if it were possible I am not clear that it would be desirable. The black race is increasing owing to the cessation of tribal wars, and it will increase with great rapidity; and unless it is settled in regular industry it will be a danger and a difficulty." With re-



MR. CHAMBERLAIN AT CROWN LODGE.

(Photo: Illustrated Press Bureau.)

gard to the increase of white labour, the Colonial Secretary pointed out that, whereas before the war the proportion of white men was one to nine Kaffirs, it had now increased to one in five. If it were possible by any means to increase that proportion, the political and social effects which would result it would be impossible to overrate. Such a result would fully make this a white man's country. To attain this they must have more brains and less muscle. The most urgent want of the community was a high school, and he urged the necessity for a university which should be superior to anything in the world. The labour problem was

the same everywhere, and South Africa should not waste its energies in seeking a solution of the present difficulties from any new undiscovered sources of native labour. The overwhelming popular opinion of the colony was opposed to the importation of native labour. The other great colonies and the mother country regarded that step as retrograde and dangerous. Even if these difficulties were removed there would still remain serious practical difficulties in the way of obtaining a reliable supply from the sources which had been suggested.

Referring next to a speech in which Mr. J. B. Robinson had reflected unfavourably upon the attitude adopted by the Government towards the new colonies, Mr. Chamberlain continued:—

“Downing Street is ready to abdicate, but before it can do so people will want to know what Government is going to succeed it. Downing Street will not set itself immediately to undermine the position which you have won by so much sacrifice of blood and treasure. You do not desire to put in the hands of your opponents the power to gain by political agitation what they have failed to gain by the sword. You do not desire to reproduce a position which in a neighbouring colony has induced a majority of the British subjects to pray to be relieved from privileges which they consider have been abused. If I interpret your sentiments aright, neither Boer nor Briton in the Transvaal wishes to substitute Park Lane for Downing Street. You would sooner bear the ills you have than fly to others that you know not of.”

This palpable hit “brought down the house.” After the roars of applause and laughter had subsided, Mr. Chamberlain came to the conclusion of his address with a strong tribute to Lord Milner, and the following eloquent peroration:—“The day of small kingdoms and states, with their petty and parochial jealousies, is past. The future belongs to the great empires of the earth,

and the greatest of these is the one of which our late opponents have become citizens. The motherland has set the example to all other nations who would colonise. She has shaken off the apathy and indifference of the past years. No longer now do we hear of a statesman who dares to talk of ‘cutting the painter,’ or to profess a desire for separation from the colonies. And the colonies have splendidly reciprocated the feeling of the mother country! They have done with provincialism, and are one in their desire to claim their share in the development of that glorious Empire which is theirs and yours as well as ours. They have shown themselves ready to accept those obligations which must ever go with the privileges of Empire. That is the spirit which exists now, and it is my most earnest desire that it shall continue to exist. Let us therefore say with the poet, who was himself of Colonial birth:

Unite the Empire; make it stand compact
Shoulder to shoulder; let its members feel
The touch of human brotherhood, and act
As one great nation, true and strong as steel.”

The banquet at the Wanderers’ Rink may be said to have been the culminating point of Mr. Chamberlain’s visit to Johannesburg, but he had much arduous work to transact before the time came, on January 22nd, for the continuation of his journey. Potchefstroom was his next destination, a halt being made *en route* at Krugersdorp. From Potchefstroom on the 24th the Colonial Secretary’s party proceeded to Ventersdorp, where General De la Rey, in welcoming Mr. Chamberlain, delivered a brief speech remarkable for its professions of loyalty and good will. Lichtenburg was reached next day, and here in the market square, in front of his own residence, De la Rey had a second opportunity of giving expression to his feelings. It was a striking and impressive gathering that Mr. Chamberlain saw around him when he stood up to reply to the address of welcome read to him on his arrival. “They met in the shadow of a great tree,” says a writer in the *Cape Times*

"on the side of a square flooded with dazzling sunlight. Many were men from the distant veld—dark-visaged men with black beards, and that heavy, emotionless look which comes from long communion with solitude. Their dress marked them out from the men of the village—the loose, rough garb of the pioneer, whether you met him on the fringe of the primeval forest of far-off Canada, in the

the side of this man stood one of the bravest of their leaders—De la Rey. How would they receive him? There was not time for doubt. No sooner did Mr. Chamberlain step forward to reply to their address of welcome than a cheer arose from every side—a good rousing cheer, such as, I believed, could come only from British throats and hearts."



SIMON'S BAY BY MOONLIGHT.

(Photo: W. S. Gillard, Simon's Town.)

solemn grey bush of Australia, or on the red plains of Africa. An ox-wagon stood near—the disselboom resting on the ground. It is their national emblem—the cradle and the home of many of their race—and seemed to draw them like a magnet, for presently they swarmed upon it like hiving bees. Beneath and about them stood their comrades—a dark circle round the man whom they had been taught to regard as their bitterest enemy—as the man who instigated and directed the war which cost them their country, and plunged them into ruin and mourning. By

When Mr. Chamberlain had finished his speech, De la Rey rose to address his Boer listeners in their own language. "It is my wish," he said, "that you should serve the new Government with as much honesty and faith as you served the old Government. For my own part I want to surrender personal feeling and everything in order to work for the prosperity of South Africa. I do not know how far the present Government trusts me, but that is a matter for the future to decide. Our deeds will bear evidence of our feelings."

From Ottoshoop, the next stopping place, Mr. Chamberlain and his party set out on horseback on Tuesday morning to accomplish the last stage of their journey to Mafeking. At Bushman's Drift, the frontier point, they were met by Sir W. Hely Hutchinson and Sir Gordon Sprigg, both of whom were to accompany him during the remainder of his expedition.

At Mafeking the most notable function was the indaba of the native chiefs of the Protectorate held in Mr. Chamberlain's honour in the compound of Headquarters House. After the more prominent had been presented to him—notably Khama, Linchwe, Bathoen, and Sebele—Mr. Chamberlain addressed the gathering with the assistance of an interpreter, after which there ensued a series of interviews in the Resident Commissioner's office with the various chiefs. Later, the Colonial Secretary and his party proceeded to Mangora's Stadt, where a large number of Baralong natives had assembled to bid him welcome. "You have been good friends to the English," was Mr. Chamberlain's message to them, "and the English do not forget their friends."

In the afternoon Mr. Chamberlain received an address of welcome from the inhabitants of Mafeking, and delivered a stirring speech in reply.

"The war is over," he told them, "and I hope there will be enduring peace. I believe it is a fact that no other nation on the face of the earth could have accomplished what we had to do. The war has done much to show the strength and power of the Empire, but it has done more to show its cohesion and union. From the four great continents men of British race poured in to join the mother country in the time of stress, and prove that blood was thicker than water. It was a white man's war. For reasons of policy it was considered undesirable that men other than Europeans should take part in it. Had it been otherwise the great Empire of India could have poured in tens of thousands of valiant stalwart troops; there is not a colony,

from the smallest to the greatest, over which I have the honour to preside which would not have poured in troops to show that it was prepared to share in the sacrifices as well as in the privileges of the Empire. The link which binds us appears thin as gossamer, but let an enemy try to break through; he will find it as strong as tempered steel."

Early on the morning of the following day Mr. Chamberlain and his party set out for Kimberley, where they arrived at ten o'clock the same night, meeting with a welcome not less enthusiastic than at Johannesburg, the whole city being illuminated and all its inhabitants apparently congregated in the streets adjoining the railway station. Visits to the Diamond Mines and interviews with all sorts of people kept Mr. Chamberlain busy until the night of the public banquet in the Market House, which was to be the concluding function of his stay in the city. The most striking feature of his speech on this occasion was perhaps the note of warning that he sounded with regard to the condition of the Cape. "I have just entered the Cape Colony," he said. "When I leave it, when I sail from these shores, shall I be able to give as good an account of the old colony as I have done of the new one? Shall I be able to say that old animosities are dying down? Shall I say that the mischief makers have ceased from troubling? Shall I be able to tell my countrymen at home that in the Cape Colony, as in the Transvaal, all that is most intelligent, all that is best, all that is patriotic in the population are prepared to accept the situation; that the idea of a Dutch republic is recognised as the baseless fabric of a vision, and that all men, of whatever race, are willing in the future to work together for the good of all?"

From Kimberley next morning Mr. Chamberlain set out for Bloemfontein, by way of Paardeberg, where the first camp was pitched, a few hundred yards from the Modder—on the actual site, indeed, of Cronje's laager. The Sunday was spent in visiting the scenes of

the fighting and the graves of the dead, notably of the gallant Canadians.

Arrived at Bloemfontein, the Colonial Secretary had to cope, as usual, with innumerable deputations; but of these only one stands out as of first importance, that from the more irreconcilable section of the Boers—the “Wild Boers” as they were styled—headed by General Christiaan de Wet.

They came armed with an aggressively worded petition, drawn up by Judge Hertzog

certain burghers who during the war had been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

6. That all receipts given by the late Free State Government should be paid.

7. That claims for compensation under Lord Roberts's proclamation of June 29th, 1900, should be met.

8. That receipts should be paid on the earliest opportunity.

9. That it was a grievous wrong that burghers who had been on commando after September 15th, 1901, should be obliged to contribute to the maintenance of their families in the concentration camps.

10. That full compensation should be given for the



CAPE TOWN.

(Photo: S. B. Bernard, Cape Town.)

and Mr. Fichardt, setting forth the following grievances:—

1. That the terms of peace had never been given the force of law, and in this connection a case in which a plea under the peace terms had been disallowed in a court of justice was cited.

2. That there had been a violation of the terms in the fact that certain burghers had not been allowed to return.

3. That the administration of education and railways had been centralised in the Transvaal.

4. That, in violation of the peace terms, rebels had not been amnestied, in spite of all the representations made to the Cape Colony on the subject.

5. That an inquiry should be made into the cases of

occupation of burghers' property prior to the conclusion of peace.

The eleventh paragraph said that the petitioners wished to confine themselves to temporary pressing questions without entering into a discussion of other vital questions—such as that of the proper education of their children—affecting the prosperity of the country.

Mr Chamberlain met these complaints with a bold and unflinching front. Protesting indignantly against the discourteous tone of the document, he proceeded to meet the

various points raised one by one, and to show beyond the possibility of refutation that the petition was "unjust in its terms," as he described it later, "and inaccurate in its facts." This firm attitude had the best results. As one of the leaders of the "Wild Boers" expressed it next day in conversation with a journalist, it was seen to be "impossible to bounce the British Cabinet"; and Mr. Chamberlain received many signs from the other sections of the Boer community of their sympathy and goodwill.

On Monday, February 9th, Mr. Chamberlain quitted Bloemfontein for Grahamstown, which he reached on Tuesday morning. At a banquet in the Town Hall that evening he delivered a speech in which he made a somewhat pointed reference to the subject of colonial share in Imperial responsibilities.

The £50,000 voted by the Cape Colony to the costs of the Navy barely sufficed, he pointed out, to keep a cruiser on commission for six months, whereas the annual cost of the South African squadron was £400,000. He did not put in any definite plea, however, for a financial contribution towards the cost of the war.

Port Elizabeth was reached on the afternoon of Wednesday, February 11th, and Graaf Reinet, the most exclusively Dutch town on the Colonial Secretary's route, next day. Here, on an improvised platform, under a large palm tree, Mr. Chamberlain indulged in a plain talk with his Dutch audience, reading them a stern, albeit good-humoured, lecture upon the ethics of rebellion. He was listened to with eager attention, and greeted at its conclusion with hearty applause. On Saturday Mr. Chamberlain continued his journey, and after stoppages at Middelburg, Schoomlue, and Paarl, arrived at Cape Town on Tuesday, February 17th.

At Cape Town, needless to say, the Colonial Secretary met with a reception which surpassed in its ceremonial aspects, if not in its warmth, anything he had yet experienced. Never, probably, in its history had the city

witnessed so notable a gathering as that which assembled next day (Wednesday) in front of the Town Hall to see and hear the distinguished visitor. In his speech on this occasion Mr. Chamberlain restricted himself, for the most part, to general reflections upon the condition of affairs in South Africa—insisting especially upon the absolute necessity of reconciliation between British and Dutch. He appealed to the moderate men of all parties—men who knew what the disastrous results of this division had been in the past, the men who saw how it was retarding the prosperity of South Africa—to seek and find some remedy, some means of removing the baneful and oppressive influence of race enmity. "Surely," he continued, "the time is propitious. An opportunity is given to the statesmen of this Colony, such as may not recur again, and if I could have an assurance in leaving South Africa that without regard to distinctions of classes, or distinctions of race, all the populations had come frankly to accept the settlement which has followed upon the war, a settlement which has removed the greatest cause of difficulty and difference between us, which always centred in the Transvaal—if I could feel that, this cause having been removed, all the peoples would now agree to accept as final the fact that the British flag is going for ever to float over South Africa, and if all the people would in future, at least, forgetting the past, identify themselves with us in our love and pride in the Empire, which belongs to all of us, then indeed I should leave South Africa with the happy consciousness that my mission had been fulfilled beyond my most hopeful expectations—then, indeed, I should feel certain that you had before you a prosperous future; and then if not I, at any rate some early successor of mine, would be able at no distant date to hail the advent of another star in the glorious constellation of free nations, which would be the crowning glory of our Imperial destiny."

On Friday, the 20th February, Mr. Cham-

berlain had an important interview with the leading members of the "South African" party—the Association upon which has fallen the mantle of the extinct Bond: Mr. Merri-man and Mr. Jan Hofmeyr being the most conspicuous members and the principal speakers. Mr. Hofmeyr's speech, at once reasonable and friendly, was in itself strong evidence of the beneficial effects accruing from Mr. Chamberlain's various

that federation would come within the experience of the present generation. And now I make a last appeal to you. I have come to South Africa at some considerable inconvenience to myself and at the expense of a certain dislocation of Imperial affairs. I think you will believe me when I say that I have no personal motives of self-gratification and no political ambitions to satisfy. I am older than most of those here present,



HOME AGAIN: A SNAP-SHOT AT SOUTHAMPTON.

(Photo: Biograph)

utterances throughout South Africa. It contained, among other points, a strong expression of opinion in favour of federation.

To this Mr. Chamberlain responded as follows:—"I, for my part, should like to see federation, and I will go a step further and say that I should like to see you all reunited"—and there was a heavy emphasis on the "re"—"in one great parliament that should be duly representative of that Imperial race of which you are all now members. But remember that any undue haste would be dangerous. This is the time for deliberate discussion and due deliberation. Personally, nothing would please me better than to know

and I know that my time of service to the Empire must before long come to a close. I have done my best to fulfil the great mission with which my Sovereign has entrusted me in a fair and impartial spirit. The fact that I have said things which now and again may have been displeasing to both sides may be taken as a guarantee of my good faith, but I have always spoken frankly and without reserve, and now I am going away hopeful and confident as regards the future of the new South Africa. I am hopeful for the future even here. Upon you rests the greatest responsibility of all. You citizens of Cape Colony are now engaged with the

new colonies in building up one of the great nations of the future, and what that nation is going to be depends upon the efforts that you make now, and on your loyal adherence to the great principles of Imperial union. Remember what I have said many times before in South Africa—the day of small states and nations is past. Be loyal to that great Empire of which you form a part. Accept the responsibilities as well as the privileges of that Imperial dominion which is yours as well as ours.”

In a final oration at the Farewell Banquet given in his honour at the Drill Hall on Tuesday, February 24th, Mr. Chamberlain spoke in confident tones of the happy results to be looked for from Mr. Hofmeyr's attitude

as revealed in this momentous interview. His convictions, in this respect, had been strengthened that very morning, he told his listeners, by a message he had received from the Progressive party accepting Mr. Hofmeyr's assurances in all sincerity and undertaking to co-operate with him in allaying racial jealousies and strife. In a similar strain of infectious optimism he brought his address to an effective close, having, in one striking passage, held out hopes as to the probability of a general amnesty for those Boers who were in prison for rebellion.

Next day Mr. Chamberlain said farewell to the Cape, embarking for Southampton in the Union Castle liner *Norman*. Thus ended one of the most memorable chapters in the Story of Africa.



THE "NORMAN" ARRIVING AT SOUTHAMPTON.

(Photo: Cribb.)

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